



The Raphael book

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THE RAPHAEL BOOK

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Self Portrait of Raphael (about 1506)

Uffizi Gallery, Florence

(See page 94)

The Raphael Book

An Account of the Life of Raphael Santi of Urbino and his place in the Development of Art, together with a description of his Paintings and Frescos

BY

FRANK ROY FRAPRIE, S. M., F. R. P. S.

Author of "Among Bavarian Inns," "Castles and Keeps of Scotland," "The Art of the Munich Galleries," etc.

With fifty-four reproductions in colour and in
duogravure of Raphael's most characteristic works



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TO MY WIFE

(RECAP)

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PREFACE

THERE is no more lovable character in the history of art than Raphael. Though born in a humble home in a small town, he made friends of the greatest men of his time, and became an ornament of the court of Rome. As was his personal character, so is his art, tender, gracious and beautiful. His pictures portray, of choice, the most beautiful emotions of the human heart, mother love, divine aspiration, chaste and lovely themes. Scenes of violence repelled him. Born in a time when morals were far looser than to-day, his pencil never descended to the portrayal of the obscene, the lascivious or the immodest. There exists no picture of his which can excite any but the purest emotions. What wonder that his popularity has never waned in the course of centuries, and that there is scarcely a Christian household which does not give one of his pictures a place of honour?

His work is one of the great milestones on the upward path of Art. He fused, combined, remodelled all that was good in the art of

past ages and his own time to a new mode of expression. He brought the Mother of Christ forth from the formal archaicism of medieval pictorial representation, and dared to portray her as a very human, very loving mother who will always touch the hearts of men. He made religious painting naturalistic, and created a Bible in pictures for a world which could not read. He revived the classic myths, he represented the beauty of childhood as no man before him had done, he taught Italy the art of portraiture. And, besides all this, he brought composition to a perfection never before attained or since surpassed.

Yet the little painters of to-day, the seekers of phantasms, the worshippers of cults, the glorifiers of technique, blind to beauty, mazed with addle-pated seeking for a new form of art, deny the value of beauty, decry enthusiasm and inspiration, and trample on the reputation of Raphael. I have no hope to show them aught of merit in his work, but for the true lover of art I trust there may be pleasure in my book.

Truth to tell, there are many books on Raphael, in many tongues. None will ever surpass the honest enthusiasm of old Vasari, who tells us the tale as the painter's own time knew it, inaccurate in spots, but full of the

vital quality of essential truth. Passavant, Müntz, Crowe and Cavalcaselle have marshalled the known facts in stately volumes, unfortunately inaccessible to most people to-day. Though the latest of these is thirty years old, new facts are hard to glean, although new theories and attributions are as numerous as the critics who have expounded them. Yet there is, it seems to me, room for a handy volume, setting forth the facts of Raphael's life as we know them to-day, and describing the pictures in the light of what modern criticism has told us of them. I have tried not to be partisan; but I cannot hold with those who would give all of Raphael's youthful drawings to Pinturicchio, or all of his mature paintings to Romano. I believe that a fine old crusted tradition is sometimes more worthy of belief than a modern attribution based on the curve of an ear, or the shape of a finger, for Raphael was a keen observer, and sometimes changed his style to accord with varying facts. So I have cheerfully listed as by Raphael a work or two which some critics have doubted, and tried to make my book as complete as possible. May its reading interest others as much as its making has enthralled me!

BROOKLINE, September, 1912.

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The Raphael Book

CHAPTER I

RAPHAEL'S BIRTH AND EARLY LIFE

“THE large and liberal hand wherewith Heaven is sometimes pleased to accumulate the infinite riches of its treasures on the head of one sole favourite, showering on him all those rare gifts and graces, which are more commonly distributed among a larger number of individuals, and accorded at long intervals of time only, has been clearly exemplified in the well-known instance of Raphael Santi of Urbino. No less excellent than graceful, he was endowed by Nature with all that majesty and goodness which may occasionally be perceived in those few favoured persons who enhance the gracious sweetness of a disposition more than usually gentle, by the fair ornament of a win-

ning amenity, always ready to conciliate, and constantly giving evidence of the most refined consideration for all persons and under every circumstance. The world received the gift of this artist from the hand of Nature, when, vanquished by Art in the person of Michelangelo, she deigned to be subjugated in that of Raphael, not by Art only but by goodness also."

With these eulogistic words Vasari summarized the character of Raphael, and we may regard them as the verdict of the artist's own age. Century after century has accepted this estimate, and placed Raphael among the first painters of all time. In spite of the fact that some critics of recent years have sought to relegate him to a position of secondary merit, the modern world as a whole still believes that his work is unsurpassable. It is true that other painters have excelled him in single particulars, that he may not have been the greatest technician, the finest colourist, the most imaginative creator of things unseen, among painters, but in the power to move the minds of men toward the spiritual realm, to convey deep religious aspiration, and to portray the beauty of heavenly ideals, he has had no superior.

The work of Raphael and his contempora-

ries changed the whole course of painting; within the few years of his life was compassed the whole transition from Middle Age to Renaissance. In his youth he was a painter as mediæval as his early instructors, Perugino, Viti and Pinturicchio. The archaicism of the Middle Ages appears in his earliest work, and he is bound by the old-time formulas. A few short years sufficed to loosen all the trammels imposed by iron-bound custom and immemorial tradition, and in the full flush of his powers he broke new paths for art which are as modern to-day as when he opened them. The road of rapid progress which he traced is not unmarked by falterings, by experiments, by misdirected attempts to overcome new difficulties, but no painter of any age has progressed so far on a new path in such a short time as has Raphael.

Our painter's name was Raffaello, but he is so universally known to the English-speaking world as Raphael that it would be pedantic to revert to the Italian form. His family name was Santi, which, latinized as Sanctius, has often been re-rendered into the vernacular as Sanzio. His most remote ancestor of whom any record has survived or been discovered was a certain Santo who, early in the fourteenth century, lived in the mountain town of

Colbordolo, which, an appanage of what was then the county of Urbino, was situated on a rocky summit a few miles from its capital city. Santo's grandson Peruzzolo seems to have attained to a certain standing in the community, and it is recorded that in 1438 he was able to purchase a house in the castle square, and also owned some fields outside the town.

Though Colbordolo was clustered at the foot of a castle, it lacked encircling ramparts and was thus open to the raids of any enemy who might be strong enough to force the garrison to lie safe within the castle walls. So, in 1446, when Sigismund Malatesta, "the enemy of God and man," led the Papal troops through the territories of Urbino, he sacked the town without hindrance. Peruzzolo's loss, though his house was not destroyed, was considerable, and the fear of a new attack was so strong that in 1450 he removed his possessions to Urbino. That his apprehensions were not without foundation was proved in 1462, when Malatesta again attacked Colbordolo, and this time pillaged and burned it. Peruzzolo did not behold this, for he had died in 1457, leaving a son, Sante, and two daughters.

Sante prospered in Urbino, dealing in corn, oil, wine, and products of the countryside. His first home, rented from a religious order for

thirteen ducats a year, still stands in the marketplace, but he soon began to acquire real estate. Records exist of several transactions, only one of which is worthy of mention here. This was the purchase, in 1463, of two adjoining houses, near the centre of the town, in a hilly street then known as the Contrada del Monte, but now called Contrada di Raffaello. For this property he paid two hundred and forty ducats, equal at the present day to more than two thousand dollars. The house still stands, altered internally, but externally probably not much changed. The alterations were made by a local architect named Muzio Oddi, who lived in it in the seventeenth century, and who increased the height of the rooms, thus completely changing the inner arrangement. Since 1873 it has belonged to the Royal Academy of Urbino, which purchased it for about four thousand dollars, restored it, and turned it to use as a museum. In it may be seen reproductions of Raphael's works, and also a damaged fresco by his father, which is said by many authorities to contain portraits of the infant Raphael and his mother. On the front of the house is a tablet erected by Oddi, bearing an inscription commemorating the birth of the painter.

Sante's children were two sons and two

daughters, Giovanni, the father of Raphael, Bartolommeo, later the boy's guardian, Margherita and Santa. Giovanni was probably born as early as 1440, for in the dedication of his chronicle to Duke Guidobaldo he details some of the hardships of his youth, including the pillage of his home by Sigismund Malatesta, which occurred in 1446. He worked hard to earn a livelihood, and late in life became a painter by profession. Once he was adjudged but an indifferent artist, but of latter years critics have looked more favourably upon his work, and he is now regarded as an excellent representative of the Umbrian school.

His works lack warmth of tone, but are well balanced, graceful and sincere, and show an occasional touch of genius. He was probably a pupil of Melozzo da Forli, and was also acquainted with the work and more or less influenced by the methods of Paolo Uccello, who painted in Urbino in 1468, of Mantegna, of Peruzio, and of Piero della Francesca. That he was well acquainted with the latter we know from the fact that Piero lodged in Giovanni's house in 1469, at a time when he had been summoned to Urbino to paint an altarpiece for the Brotherhood of Corpus Domini. Giovanni's pride must have suffered from the fact that an outsider was selected for this profitable piece of

work rather than himself, but his gentle nature impelled him to receive Piero with friendship, and even to praise highly his talents in poetry. This he did in a long chronicle in *terza rima*, extending to more than twenty thousand verses, in which he recounted the career of Duke Frederick of Urbino. This manuscript, which is now in the Vatican library, displays some literary merit, and proves that its author was possessed of an excellent education.

Giovanni, when past his first youth, married Magia Ciarla, the daughter of a well-to-do merchant of Urbino. The first two children of this marriage, a boy and a girl, died in infancy. The third and last child was a boy, and the father was so proud of this son, and so sure that he would shed lustre on the family name, that he named him for Raphael, the most glorious of the archangels. Vasari adds that he would not allow Magia to give the child to a wet nurse, as was the almost invariable custom, but insisted that she should nurse and bring up the boy herself, so that his youthful mind should not be unduly influenced by the unrefined habits and manners of the peasantry.

There has been much controversy as to the exact date of Raphael's birth, because of the inscription on his tomb in the Pantheon. This states that the artist, who died on Good Fri-

day, April 6th, 1520, was thirty-seven years of age to a day, "*annos xxxvii integer integros quo die natus est.*" The date of April 6th, 1483, is hence often given as the day of his birth, but against this is to be set the fact that Vasari states that he was born, "on Good Friday of the year 1483, at three o'clock of the night" (that is, according to our reckoning of the hours, at a quarter to ten in the evening). He adds that he died on his birthday, Good Friday of 1520. Events were so commonly reckoned from religious festivals, that the fact that some were movable feasts was generally ignored, and most authorities now agree that Raphael's natal day was in fact Good Friday, March 28th, 1483.

Raphael's birthplace was admirably fitted by both nature and art to react favourably on the intelligent nature of the boy. It occupies a most beautiful situation near the crest of the Apennines, and hence enjoys a wonderful prospect over mountain, sea and plain. From his earliest youth, diversified landscapes of rolling hills, fertile fields, and castle-crested rocks were ever before the young Raphael's eyes, and from them he received that feeling for the beautiful in landscape which was later reflected in the lovely scenes shown in the backgrounds of so many of his Madonnas.

The town itself, though small, possesses what was planned to be the largest and most beautiful palace in all Italy, built by the famous architect Luciano di Martino da Lauranna for Frederick of Montefeltro, first Count and later Duke of Urbino. This enlightened and well-educated soldier, the most talented of his family, fascinated all Italy by his achievements and the magnificence of his ideals. He was a valiant and successful commander, well versed in military strategy and the art of fortification. His prowess is shown by the fact that in the many encounters which he had with the ferocious and detested Sigismund Malatesta, he almost invariably came off victor. In 1472 he obtained from Pope Sixtus IV the title of Duke and was afterward made Gonfalonier of the church. His territories were not naturally rich, and the principal source of his income was the furnishing of mercenary troops, an occupation then not esteemed so disgraceful as it would be to-day. *Condottiere* as he was, he was never accused of being unfaithful to his word, and was most devotedly loved by his people.

In his private life he was a scholar and a devoted patron of art and literature. When he built his magnificent palace, Il Corte, so enormous that it occupied not only the pin-

nacles of two great rocks but also the valley between, which was filled in for its foundations, he decorated its interior magnificently. His greatest pride was his library, the formation of which had cost him no less than thirty thousand gold ducats. In spite of the fact that printed books had already begun to circulate in Italy, he would have none of them, and for many years he maintained a staff of copyists who prepared for him the magnificently illuminated manuscripts which now form the Urbino section of the Vatican library. Unlike many men who have formed great libraries, his books were not for show; he read them all and especially those relating to the military art. His invariable practice was to be read to during meals.

He was a patron of painting as well as of literature. He imported from Flanders Justus of Ghent, a painter who possessed the secret of painting in oils, which was not thoroughly understood by any Italian painter until about the end of the fifteenth century. In addition to works by this painter, the art gallery of Urbino contained numerous pictures by the ancient masters, including a picture of women bathing by Jan van Eyck, and many other celebrated works. None of them remains at Urbino, as its artistic treasures, to the value

of a hundred and fifty thousand ducats, were carried off by Cæsar Borgia in 1502, when he captured the town. As a curious example of the manners of princes of that period, it may be remarked that Cæsar removed in his booty two pictures which he had presented to Duke Guidobaldo six years before.

Frederick died in 1482, a year before Raphael's birth, and was succeeded by his son Guidobaldo, who carried on his father's traditions of patronage of art and learning. Though expelled from his domains by Cæsar Borgia in 1502, he had so endeared himself to his people that they rebelled against the invader the next year and recalled Guidobaldo. His wife, Elizabeth Gonzaga, was a patron of Giovanni Santi, and toward the end of his life gave him a commission to paint two portraits, one of which was to be her own, but these were not finished at the time of his death. Letters still extant prove that the duchess knew Giovanni well, and as has been previously mentioned, the latter wrote a long rhymed chronicle of the exploits of Duke Frederick and dedicated it to Guidobaldo. There is little doubt that Raphael in his youth had access to Il Corte and became fully acquainted with its artistic treasures, paintings, manuscripts, carvings, tapestries, and statues,

and that these beautiful things were a lively stimulus to his youthful imagination.

Among such surroundings, and in a household well removed from want, it is no wonder that Raphael's talents made themselves evident at an early age. Undoubtedly his first studies were supervised by his father, and he probably began to draw before his father's death. Precocious as were many of the painters of the time, it is impossible to accept Vasari's statement that Raphael assisted Giovanni in the execution of his later works, for he was but eleven years old when his father died, and his work in the studio could have been little more than the menial tasks of an apprentice. His father, however, saw to it that he had a good literary education, as is proved by the fact that his letters are carefully worded and perfectly spelled, and that his diction was elegant and correct.

As has been said, Raphael's father died on August 1st, 1494, when the boy was but eleven years old. Giovanni's first wife had died three years previously, and he had married again after the lapse of six months, his second bride being Bernardina Parte, a merchant's daughter, who brought to him a dowry of two hundred florins. Bernardina was not of the easy temper of the first wife, and it is to

be inferred that she did not take the place of a mother to Raphael, who never showed any affection for her. By the terms of Giovanni's will, made shortly before his death, Raphael's uncle Bartolommeo, then in orders, became his guardian, while Bernardina was allowed to dwell in the family home with the other heirs, as long as she should remain a widow. This provision, together with the slowness of Bartolommeo in paying the widow her share of the estate, led to serious family quarrels, and finally to lawsuits, in the reports of which the priest does not appear to advantage. These unpleasant affairs were not settled until after Raphael had left Urbino to begin his career, but his sympathies were evidently not with his stepmother, with whom he never held any correspondence. The final disposition of his father's estate left Raphael, if not rich, at least with enough means to carry on his studies without fear of starvation.

The records as to Raphael's instruction in art are meagre to the utmost degree. Vasari states that his father personally took him to Perugia and apprenticed him to Pietro Vannucci, commonly known as Perugino, but modern biographers without exception disbelieve this story, principally because of the extreme precocity it would imply in the lad and the

lack of early works which would confirm this fact. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, among others, ardently espouse the theory that he was apprenticed to Perugino as early as 1495, but modern writers mostly adhere to the belief that it was not until 1499 that he became a pupil of this artist. It is generally assumed nowadays that his instructor before this time was Timoteo Viti, who had been settled at Urbino since 1495, after receiving his training at Bologna under Francia. The arguments for or against this belief are scanty, but it is certain that the two were intimate friends, and that Raphael in the years of his greatness sent for Viti to come to Rome to assist him. If Raphael remained at Urbino until 1499, and meanwhile acquired a considerable knowledge of painting, it is natural to suppose that he took lessons from the man who lived there, was his friend, and was competent to instruct him.

As to the date when he entered Perugino's studio, records discovered in recent years show that Perugino was almost constantly absent from Perugia between 1493 and 1499. There is also extant a court record to the effect that on June 5th, 1499, Raphael was a witness in Urbino against his stepmother, while we know from the same source that on May 15th, 1500, he was no longer in Urbino, and that his god-

father on that date testified in court as to his absence and signed a legal document "pro dicto Raffaele absente." As Raphael's evidence was of little importance in the case, it is hardly to be assumed that he would have taken the difficult journey of eighty miles from Perugia to Urbino to be a witness, and it therefore seems natural to believe that it was not until after June, 1499, that he went to Perugia.

CHAPTER II

RAPHAEL AND PERUGINO

IN Perugia Raphael found a city vastly different from Urbino. In beauty of situation and scenery his new home had a great advantage. Perugia is built upon the summit of an eminence some sixteen hundred feet in altitude, and from its high and isolated situation looks over hundreds of square miles of the Umbrian plain, surrounded by a vast and distant amphitheatre of undulating mountains which rise to a lofty rampart on the horizon. From its walls, rivers, towns, isolated farmsteads, every variety of pastoral landscape may be clearly seen in the full light of the noonday sun. Morning and evening are likely to disclose the landscape clothed in delicate blues and purples, or veiled in rising mists, such as charm us in some of Perugino's frescos and Raphael's earlier Madonnas.

The city itself, Augusta Perusia of the Romans, is of hoary antiquity. The gigantic walls which surround it are the product of

millenniums of strife; mediæval battlements crown massive Roman ramparts, and these rest on the cyclopean masonry of the Etruscans. Within the town are mazes of small streets straggling up the hillsides crowded with mean structures, to reach the great open Corso, in Raphael's time as to-day the seat of all the traffic of the town. Here are the Cambio, the seigniorial palace, the loggia of the merchants, the fountain of Jean of Pisa, the cathedral, the palaces of the nobles. The very sight of these strong contrasts tells us that the lines between ruling patricians and hard-working citizens were sharply drawn.

While Urbino was governed by the high-minded Montefeltros, art-loving nobles of catholic tastes, who maintained peace at home and lived on terms of amity with their subjects, the Popes, legitimate sovereigns of Perugia, had little authority within its walls. The destinies of the city were ruled by bloodthirsty and quarrelsome nobles, the Baglioni and the Oddi, whose age-long feuds repeatedly ravaged the city with the horrors of internecine war. In 1488 and again in 1491, the Oddi had been expelled from the city, but their rivals, left in possession, speedily began to quarrel among themselves, so that the city knew little peace. Both Baglioni and Oddi gave orders

to Raphael for pictures, and "The Entombment," one of his most famous paintings, was produced for a member of the former family under circumstances which will be detailed later.

In spite of the insecure conditions of life in Perugia, the city was by no means outside the trend of progress of the times. The university was of considerable reputation, and its rolls during the course of the fifteenth century bore the names of three future Popes as students or instructors. The town boasted of a numerous body of painters, closely affiliated in ideas and execution, whose product we know as the work of the Umbrian School. From the methods of this group Perugino never freed himself, in spite of his long residence in Florence and Rome, and realism never displaced in his pictures the mystic tendencies and stereotyped religious formulas demanded in representations of Saints and Madonnas by the devout burghers of Umbria. Portraits were almost entirely excluded from the permissible subjects of the Umbrian painters, who confined their attention almost wholly to traditional religious or mythological subjects. The formal Madonnas and scenes from the Bible and the classics met the needs of the people, and the poorest towns felt a patriotic pride in

having their churches adorned with paintings, and their public buildings with frescos.

In spite of the formality with which the pictures of the early Umbrian School were painted, any painter who worked in accordance with the traditional style was sure of having his work well received. No matter how simple and archaic his Madonnas may seem to the sophisticated mind and the trained eye of the twentieth century, it was quite otherwise at this period. Every sacred picture told a cherished story to many a devout heart, and the poorest town found means to acquire such pictures. Men of the lowest station would toil and save through a lifetime of hard work and self-denial in order to present some pious painting to the church of their native village. We are even told that in 1507 a poor cobbler of Perugia gave Perugino a commission to paint a picture for which he paid, without hesitation, forty-seven ducats. This painting of "The Virgin with St. Francis and St. Jerome" still hangs in a Perugian gallery, and none that looks at it with knowledge of its origin can fail to be reminded of the widow's mite.

Another anecdote about Perugino, told by Rio, well brings out the close connection between the religious faith of the people of Um-

bria and the paintings which illumined this faith. After telling how Perugino had painted at Cerqueto some pictures commemorating the cessation of a plague which had prevailed for several years, he continues: "It was then that the miraculous Madonna of the Duomo acquired such a high æsthetic value in his eyes; and this picture, which, under the name of 'Madonna della Grazia,' was held in great veneration by the people, became, with certain modifications in detail, his favourite type. In some cases he reproduced it with scrupulous accuracy, as in the fresco in the convent of St. Agnes at Perugia, and in other cases he took it as a model for Madonnas which he painted upon the banners, the altars, and even in the public squares. It was in the open air that he painted the famous 'Madonna della Luce,' before which, according to the popular legend, a man who had spoken blasphemously of it stood blind for four days, and which having become, on account of this miracle, the resort of pilgrims and preachers, was transferred in 1518 to a small chapel built with the produce of a popular subscription."

Not only did the self-sacrificing people of Umbria get paintings for their churches, but public buildings as well were decorated with religious or allegorical subjects. In accord-

ance with this prevailing spirit, the corporation of money changers at Perugia had decided to adorn their meeting room, the Cambio, with paintings, and in 1496 had made a contract with Perugino to decorate the roof and the upper part of the wall, the task to be completed by 1500. Though other work had first to be finished, the Cambio was begun in good time, and toward the end of 1499 was so far along that it was sure to be completed as agreed. Into the midst of this great work Raphael came from Urbino.

Perugino was one of the great artists of his own day, and enjoyed not only liberal patronage, but the affection of a host of pupils and followers. Unlike many of the artistic geniuses of the time, who were masters of many arts, he was a painter only, without much culture, but had travelled a good deal and made the acquaintance of many eminent men. This must have made him an agreeable companion, and he speedily won the affection of Raphael, who became one of the master's favourites. Thus it came about that Raphael took part in the execution of the Cambio frescos, which represent the following subjects: on the roof, personifications of the sun, moon, and planets; at the left, Greek and Roman heroes typical of the Virtues, Justice, Prudence, Moderation

and Courage; at the right, God the Father, Prophets and Sibyls; at the lower end, the Nativity and the Transfiguration. It is not within my province to give any particular description of these paintings, for, though it is generally agreed that Raphael took some part in their execution, it is hardly to be discerned by the average observer, and even experts are not agreed as to what portions show the work of his hand. Design and outline are undoubtedly those of Perugino throughout, and Raphael's painting had not attained to such individuality as to show marked contrasts with that of his master. Suffice it to say that the two worked together here, and associated much in the next two or three years. The comradeship of artists and the relations of master and pupil were so intimate at this time that we are to-day at a loss absolutely to separate their work in all cases. This is not strange when we consider that the first task set to a pupil was the copying of drawings by his master, and that we still possess a priceless relic of this stage of Raphael's career.

This is the so-called "Venetian Sketch-book," preserved in the Academy at Venice. It consists of fifty-three leaves of quarto size, covered on both sides with pen drawings of varied character. Most of them recall the days

spent in Perugia, progressing from laborious copies made with the aid of a network of ruled squares, to freehand drawings characterized by boldness and force. At a later period, detail disappears, and only the essential lines are hastily jotted down for future elaboration. It is but fair to say that the history of this book is not complete, and that, in whole or in part, it is sometimes ascribed to Pinturicchio or other artists. General opinion attributes it to Raphael, and the weight of the evidence inclines to this side. Many of the drawings are copies of the lost cartoons of Perugino for the frescos in the Sistine chapel. They are not the mature drawings which we would expect from the hands of Perugino or Pinturicchio, the masters who executed these frescos, but, with all the hesitation and immaturity of the pupil in the earlier transcripts, there is in many of these sketches and copies a feeling and insight quite foreign to either of the older men.

Nor does this sketchbook contain merely copies of Perugino's drawings. We find there repeated or imitated works by Leonardo da Vinci, Mantegna, Signorelli, Justus of Ghent, as well as sketches from nature, compositions for pictures, and other stock in trade of a young artist. It may be objected that copies of another painter's drawings do not make a

very satisfactory collection of working material for a beginner. This is the modern view, but in earlier days the passion for originality at any price had not developed. A painter who had perfected a satisfactory design for an altarpiece was not estopped from using it more than once, with or without slight variations. If he had attained to reputation, and orders were plentiful, he had no hesitation in turning over his design to his pupils for execution; it was also not unheard of that the master should utilize the pupil's design; in short, a worthy idea became more or less common property, and he who best carried it out attained the most fame, without any question of originality being raised.

In this sort of comradeship worked Raphael and Perugino. The younger, from copyist, soon advanced to be co-worker, and perhaps even creator. A drawing at Frankfort shows on the two sides of the sheet, "St. Martin on Horseback," by Raphael, and the "Baptism of Christ," by Perugino. "The Resurrection of Christ," in the Vatican is generally supposed to be painted by Raphael from Perugino's drawings. Other instances of co-operation have been alleged, but need not be listed here. It is enough for us to know that in 1502, when Perugino removed to Florence, Raphael

had learned all that the older man could teach him. Well had it been for Perugino's reputation had he died then, and been remembered only as Raphael's master. He never advanced beyond the stage attained in those years, and after Raphael's untimely death finished a bit of his pupil's incomplete work in what was already an archaic style.

Raphael's personal relations with Perugino were of the happiest. Like any other apprentice painter, he lived in his master's house, which still exists at No. 18 Via Deliziosa, near the church of San Antonio. Though considerably altered, we are still able to discern the original arrangement. It stood at the end of a sunny courtyard, surrounded by other houses, and the low steps led up to an arcaded hall, once open to the court, but now walled in. Behind this was the great studio with various smaller rooms about it, and the same arrangement prevailed on the second floor. It must have been a very comfortable place, even though it had no garden, for the back windows look out upon a narrow lane.

Perugino lived very comfortably. He owned houses at Florence, Perugia, and Città della Pieve, and five or six years before he had married the beautiful Clara Fancelli, whose father, a famous architect of Mantua, had

given her a dowry of five hundred golden ducats. Perugino was deeply in love with his lovely wife and despite all his occupations, he had not been willing to allow any other person to choose her wedding adornments.

Perugino, even though well off in this world's goods, was of a rather avaricious disposition and was inclined to ask for his work very high prices. In 1489 he had been asked to complete the painting of a chapel at Orvieto which had been left unfinished by Fra Angelico, and had asked the committee to pay him fifteen hundred ducats in gold and also furnish the scaffolding and the material for the plaster. His patrons were unable to meet his price and offered him two hundred ducats to paint the roof only, in addition to which all materials and his board and lodgings were to be furnished. Though Perugino accepted their offer, he later regretted his decision and never did the work. In 1491 the senate of Venice had asked him to paint two historical pictures for their council room; the price offered was four hundred florins, but Perugino asked twice that amount, so that the bargain was not made. Twenty-five years later Titian himself was glad to paint the pictures at the figures which Perugino had scorned.

These mercenary ways of Perugino, which

were not dissimilar to those of many artists of the time, were not likely to win especial favour for painters, and it was not until the next generation that painters were loaded with honorary distinctions and received all of the respect which had long been given to writers.

In the house of Perugino Raphael made the acquaintance of many young men and some older ones, pupils of Perugino or co-workers with him. Some of these men had much influence on Raphael's style, and others became lifelong friends. Among them may be named Berto di Giovanni, who, in 1516, was allowed to execute the ornaments to surround the "Coronation of the Virgin," which Raphael had agreed to paint for the nuns of Montelucre but never finished; Bartolommeo Caporali and his son Gianbattista, who later translated Vitruvius; Eusebio di San Giorgio, whose work in many instances was so similar to that of Raphael that to him has been ascribed the "St. Sebastian" at Bergamo, now assigned to Raphael; Giannicola Manni, who painted the frescos in the chapel of the Cambio; Tiberio d'Assisi; Girolamo Genga da Urbino, one of Raphael's disciples at Rome; Giovanni di Pietro, surnamed Lo Spagna, another Roman assistant; and Domenico di Paris Alfani, who was an intimate friend of Raphael's and long

took charge of his interests in Umbria. Pinturicchio also became specially intimate with Raphael at this time, and their acquaintance and friendship lasted many years and was artistically valuable to both of them.

Before leaving Perugino's studio Raphael had undoubtedly completed some paintings. There is much uncertainty as to date and attribution of these and hot controversy has centred on some of them. They are not of even merit, and will be described but briefly. All are of small size, but several are well-known, as they belong to important collections. Perhaps the best is "The Knight's Dream," in the National Gallery, London. This represents a young soldier in armour sleeping under a small tree, in the midst of a beautiful landscape. On the one hand a beautiful woman, gayly dressed, advances with a bunch of flowers; on the other a damsel of more serious mien holds forth a sword and book. The obvious allegory is the choice between duty and pleasure. The picture betrays no trace of the Peruginesque, and the original drawing, hung beside the painting, shows the models clothed in ordinary attire. As this was a custom of Timoteo Viti, it is likely that the picture was painted at Urbino under his influence.

In the Louvre at Paris is the "Marsyas and

Apollo," a small and childish work, which, if by Raphael, is undoubtedly the earliest of all. Once owned in England, its sale out of the country produced an outburst of comment and criticism of the bitterest nature. The picture is worth neither the price paid nor the ink spilled, and its authorship is still in doubt.

Another very early work, by some ascribed to the period before 1500, and by others said to have been painted a little later at Siena, is "The Three Graces," now in the Museum at Chantilly. It is very similar to an antique group of the same subject in the cathedral library, Siena, and a drawing for it is in the Venetian sketchbook. The picture represents three naked maidens, each holding a golden apple, embracing each other in an open landscape. The picture shows considerable departures from the statue, and a certain boldness in execution. It once belonged to the Borghese collection, and has passed through the hands of a number of owners, including Sir Thomas Lawrence and the Earl of Dudley.

The Lochis collection at Bergamo contains a small "St. Sebastian," considerably different from the usual representations of this saint. It portrays the head and shoulders of a richly dressed young man, holding in his right hand the arrow of his martyrdom. The hair is long

and flowing, and the face is feminine, recalling the female heads in "The Marriage of the Virgin," to which this picture has considerable affinity in style. The opinion was expressed by Von Rumohr that this is a fragment of a larger painting, but Passavant states on the contrary that the landscape is too carefully adapted to the size of the panel for this to be the case.

Another small panel painting of early date is "The Saviour of the World" in the Palazzo Martinengo at Brescia. It is a half length figure of the risen Christ, wearing the crown of thorns and draped with a red mantle over the right shoulder and around the loins. The right hand is raised in benediction, while the left points to the wounded side. The execution is delicate, though firm, and the picture is well preserved.

When Perugino removed to Florence, Raphael was nineteen years old, and able to work for himself. His style was sufficiently like that of his master to justify the latter in recommending him to those of his friends in Umbria who desired paintings, and probably the pictures which he painted during the next year or two were ordered because he kept up the tradition of Perugino's studio. It is needless to say that at this stage of his career his



THE SAVIOUR OF THE WORLD (1502-1503)
Brescia Gallery

work would all be painted to order to the specifications of the purchaser.

Let us look for a moment at the methods of painters at this time. Unlike the artists of to-day, they did not choose their subjects where their fancy led them. The buyer selected his topic and the method of treatment. He might stipulate for a picture modelled after some altarpiece which he had somewhere seen, or, having selected the subject, might merely stipulate the number of figures, expecting the artist to treat it in the traditional way. No painter of the fifteenth century dared to depart from the well-established mode of painting each holy personage. Every saint of the calendar had one or more legendary attributes, and a more or less fixed attitude, which we find repeated over and over again. Though Raphael in later years greatly departed from the stereotyped formulas, his Perugian work shows him as still an adherent to the old types, which his Umbrian customers doubtless required.

Generally speaking, pictures were painted in accordance with the terms of carefully written contracts, various examples of which are still extant. The price was usually named in the order, and the painter furnished the materials, except the costly gold and ultramarine,

which were provided at the expense of the patron. Naturally this clause often led to disputes, sometimes because these colours were used too sparingly, but more often because the artist was too prodigal with them. The payments were often made in kind, and were sometimes much delayed, as, for instance, in the case of the Cambio frescos, where the guild stipulated for ten years in which to pay for the work.

Sometimes the painters were paid by the day or the month, and in this case their pay was reduced if they did not put in full hours. If they were fed and lodged, they received lower wages, quite as if they were artisans. In fact, it was not until Raphael's time that any artist was really regarded as a social equal of the nobles or even citizens for whom he worked. Still another method of payment often in vogue, and one for which Raphael had a great liking, was for the artist to do the work, and allow its value to be decided by experts when it was finished, and we shall see hereafter how Michelangelo thus acted as arbiter for Raphael in a famous case.

Raphael's first pictures, after becoming his own master, were naturally neither large in size nor highly original in execution. We cannot absolutely fix their chronology, but four or five Madonnas and as many other pictures

of sacred scenes of varied character seem to have been produced in his first two or three years of independent work. It is a rather curious fact that three of these early Madonnas are to-day in the possession of a single museum, that at Berlin.

The first, earliest of all Raphael's pictures of this subject, is the "Solly Madonna." In this Mary is represented as reading from a prayerbook held in her right hand, while the left assures her of her Babe's safety by a gentle pressure on one foot. He sits in her lap and turns from the goldfinch with which he has been playing to look in the prayerbook. The painting of the Christ displays none of that knowledge of the marvellous grace of infant forms, which was later to become so characteristic of Raphael, and the heads cannot be called especially successful. The picture is based on a drawing sometimes ascribed to Pinturicchio, which is now in the Louvre.

A little later in date is the "Madonna with St. Francis and St. Jerome," sometimes called "The Three Saints." The Child is very similar in drawing and attitude, though without the bird, but the Mother's head is turned more to the right and she is gazing earnestly at her Babe, while the two saints look on with conventional gestures of reverence or astonish-

ment. The Madonna's mantle and veil covering her hair and forehead, and the golden star on her left shoulder, are traditional attributes of the primitive church, dear to the Umbrian heart. This painting is based on a drawing in Vienna catalogued as by Perugino, but Raphael's own work.

The third of the early Madonnas now in Berlin is that known as the "Madonna della Casa Diotalevi," which is not recognized as indisputably Raphael's by all the authorities. It is so similar in general lines, however, that we may safely regard it as by the master. The two children have the same Peruginesque qualities, but the face of the Madonna is possibly a little more firmly done and less insipid than that of the "Solly Madonna," though in no way beautiful. This picture was for many years in the palace of Marquis Diotalevi at Rimini, where it was regarded as by Perugino. Dr. Waagen bought it for the Berlin Gallery in the early part of the last century, and gave it its present attribution.

Another early Madonna is that of the Countess Alfani, formerly at Perugia, but afterwards removed to Terni, where at last accounts it was in the house of Countess Beatrice Fabrizi, her heiress. This is similar in feeling to those just mentioned, and is possibly by



MADONNA DELLA CASA DIATOLEVI (*about 1502*)
Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin

Perugino, as is stated by an inscription on the back. Yet Von Rumohr and Passavant attribute it to Raphael, and Crowe and Cavalcaselle believe that it is perhaps the central panel of a triptych painted for San Fortunato of Perugia in Perugino's workroom. The side panels are probably the small pictures of St. Mary Magdalen and St. Catherine of Alexandria in the collection of the Duke of Northumberland at Alnwick, attributed by some authors to Raphael, by others to Lo Spagna.

Of undoubted authenticity is the little painting at St. Petersburg, known as the "Madonna Connestabile della Staffa." Until 1871 this picture remained in Perugia, in the possession of the Staffa family, in which it had long been an heirloom, and was then bought for the Empress of Russia at a price of about \$66,000. It was painted on a panel of wood, little more than six inches square, and the frame, with painted arabesques as decorations of the corners, was carved from the same piece of wood, leaving a circular space on which the picture was painted. As an incipient crack had appeared in the sky, and threatened to ruin the panel, the picture was transferred to canvas for its preservation. Until this occurred, it had probably never been restored, and was in excellent condition. The picture is a little more

mature than those previously described, showing somewhat more careful drawing throughout. The Madonna holds the Child in her arms, and has in her right hand a book which both are reading. The landscape is of rather more importance in the composition than in the previous examples. A river winds through an open country which contains a few tall and naked trees; in the distance are snow-covered mountains. A number of ancient copies of this exist in various galleries.

All these Madonnas, so much alike in composition and treatment, show that Raphael, though already fond of the subject, had not yet attained to any originality of treatment or design. It is certain that he was already thinking deeply on the subject, for not only are drawings and sketches preserved which served as foundations for some of the paintings, but others are in existence which were never utilized, as far as we can judge, except as plans for work which did not reach fruition. A beautiful pen drawing at Oxford, while only a first sketch, has all the spirit of a completed picture, and there is a finished chalk drawing at Vienna well worthy of transfer to canvas.

Another religious subject which occupied the attention of Raphael during this period was the "Crucifixion." Of this we possess two



MADONNA CONNESTABILE DELLA STAFFA (1500-1502)
Hermitage, St. Petersburg

renderings, one in the Mond collection in London, and the other in St. Petersburg. The London picture represents the Christ on a very high cross, on each side of which floats a little angel, one of whom collects in two vases the blood flowing from the wounded side. Above the cross appear the sun and the moon. In the foreground, on the left, are the Virgin standing and St. Jerome kneeling, with attitudes and gestures of grief, while on the other side the kneeling Magdalen and St. John standing behind her raise their countenances toward heaven in hope. The open landscape is again suggestive of the Umbrian plain, and the spirit of Perugino breathes from faces, drapery, and gesture. In fact, Vasari says of this picture: "If it were not for the name of Raphael written upon it, it would be supposed by every one to be a work of Pietro Perugino."

The St. Petersburg "Crucifixion" is a triptych consisting of an oblong centre and two shorter wings with arched tops. The scene is laid in a landscape filled with impossible wooded crags, with castles and towers in the distance. The four saints reappear, all standing, two on the main panel, and two on the wings, but St. Mark with his lion replaces St. Jerome. The attitudes are as stiffly wooden, and the drapery even more rigid in its folds,

so that we may safely place this picture as earlier than the London one.

What appears to be the first portrait painted by Raphael is that of Perugino in the Borghese Gallery at Rome, which must of necessity have been painted by 1502, when Perugino removed to Florence. The attribution seems doubtful, but Berenson, a most competent critic, gives it the weight of his authority. There is nothing to suggest the spirituality of an artist in this broad face, with heavy neck and jaw. The painting is flat and crude, and the whole work is lifeless.

Though, as we have just said, Perugino left Perugia in 1502, Raphael remained. He was about to begin a more important work than any yet accomplished; he had received a commission from Maddalena degli Oddi, a member of one of the most powerful families of Perugia, to paint a "Coronation of the Virgin" for the church of San Francesco of Perugia. While the date of beginning this work does not rest on direct evidence, the fall of Cæsar Borgia in the summer of 1503 resulted in the exile of the Oddis, and so this vast painting, now in the Vatican, must have been completed at the latest in that year.

Raphael prepared himself for this task with great care, and numerous drawings at Venice,



THE CORONATION OF THE VIRGIN (1503)
Vatican Gallery, Rome

Lille and Oxford show his thoroughness. Not being able to find female models, for the women of Umbria at this time were rarely seen outside their own homes, he got young men, doubtless his studio companions, to pose for him. The tight-fitting costume of the period allowed him to study his anatomy and poses almost as well as though the models had been nude, and it is interesting to see how his drawings of young men reproduce not only the final attitudes of the principal figures, but even a remarkable amount of religious fervour. They give good evidence that he already saw the completed picture before beginning the painting, and was idealizing his models in the very act of making accurate drawings of them in their ordinary attire.

The "Coronation" is divided into two distinct portions. Below are the apostles, crowded about the empty sarcophagus of the Virgin, from which spring roses and lilies; Christ above, seated on the clouds, places a celestial crown upon the bowed head of his Mother, while a choir of angels plays and sings about them. The upward glances of several of the apostles serve to unite the two portions of the composition. It was a difficult task for a young painter to repeat twelve times on as many faces of different mould, the identical

feeling of awe and delight. Perugino, for all the many "Ascensions" and "Assumptions" which he painted, never completely solved this difficulty, and it would be idle to expect it in a young painter of barely twenty. That he nevertheless succeeded in a marvellous degree is easily seen by comparing his "Coronation" with that of Pinturicchio, which hangs in the same room, and with one painted by Perugino the same year for the church of San Francesco al Monte, now in the town hall at Perugia. Though some of Raphael's apostles fail to express the admiration and fervour which he intended, though individual attitudes are stiff, and the composition lacks the freedom of later work, there is a strength of conception and an originality of execution which far remove it from the conventional composition of his master. Formal grouping, stock gestures, inexpressive countenances, show the poverty of the older painter's mental equipment and his holding to traditions dating back in some particulars to Giotto.

Below "The Coronation" was formerly a series of three small pictures technically known as the predella. These pictures also now hang in the Vatican Gallery, but separated from the original. They represent, respectively, "The Annunciation," "The Ado-



THE ANNUNCIATION (1503)



THE ADORATION OF THE MAGI (1503)



THE PRESENTATION IN THE TEMPLE (1503)
Vatican Gallery, Rome

ration of the Magi," and "The Presentation in the Temple." These were very familiar subjects among the Umbrian artists, but Raphael, though following in a measure the traditions, has given his fancy some play. "The Annunciation" is enscened in a hall supported by noble Corinthian columns, in front of one of which sits the Virgin, with a book on her knees, in an attitude betokening surprise and resignation. The angel strides rapidly in, full of the gladness of his tidings, and in the background God the Father looks down from the clouds through the window, which frames a noble open landscape.

"The Adoration of the Magi," in striking contrast, is crowded with figures. The Virgin sits at the right in front of a ruined hovel, holding the Child on her knees, while the kings offer her their rich presents. Behind Mary appear shepherds offering their modest gift, a lamb. This thought of uniting these two scenes, the adoration of the kings and that of the shepherds, is original with Raphael and shows his accurate conception of the spirit of the gospel. The picture is completed by the suites of the kings, horses, and riders, and forms a masterly composition.

The third group, "The Presentation in the Temple," shows a number of persons and an-

other architectural setting. The picture space is divided into three parts by two rows of Ionic capitals. In the centre Simeon is attempting to take from Mary her Babe, who with an instinctive gesture of fright, turns back to the Mother. The group is completed by the attentive Joseph, making a well-balanced composition. In the divisions at the right and left are groups of men and women, one of the latter carrying the traditional turtle-dove as a gift. These three little pictures give more promise of Raphael's future greatness, especially in composition, than any of the pictures which we have previously reviewed. Though partly based on designs of Perugino, they are nobler, more delicate, more completely thought out than Pérugino's predella at Fano, in which Raphael very likely took a hand.

It was probably after the painting of "The Coronation" that Raphael made a visit to Città di Castello, an Umbrian town whose rulers, the Vitellis, were allies of the Dukes of Urbino and lovers of art, having already employed Signorelli and Pinturicchio. Raphael's own sovereign, Duke Guidobaldo, had taken refuge here from Cæsar Borgia in December, 1502, and the town had afterwards been captured by Cæsar but had regained its liberty immediately after the death of Alex-

ander VI on August 18th, 1503. Lanzi has stated that all of Raphael's pictures painted here date from the year 1500, but as the most famous, "The Marriage of the Virgin," is dated 1504, it is probable that the others were painted at about the same time and that Raphael did not arrive there until late in 1503. It is generally stated that four paintings were executed by him here, and Vasari mentions three of them. One represented the death of Christ on the Cross, and in all probability was one of the two "Crucifixions" already described, another was a picture painted for the church of St. Augustine, and the third "The Marriage of the Virgin." Tradition indicates another, a church banner representing on one side "The Trinity" and on the other "The Creation of Eve." This banner, the sides now separated from each other and separately framed, now hangs on the walls of the Municipal Gallery. The paintings are in a deplorable condition and show none of their original beauty and colour.

The picture executed for the church of St. Augustine is generally identified with an altarpiece which remained in this church until 1789, "The Coronation of St. Nicholas of Tolentino." At that time Pope Pius VI purchased it and on account of its size had it cut

into fragments. Of the lower portion, which was uninjured, a separate picture was made, while each of the figures in the upper half became a separate composition. When the French entered Rome in 1798 these fragments were probably sold at auction, along with many other art treasures, and have completely disappeared. Drawings for the picture remain at Oxford and Lille, and a copy of the principal figures is in the Gallery of Città di Castello.

“The Marriage of the Virgin,” usually known as “Lo Sposalizio,” now in the Brera at Milan, is the most important of Raphael’s pictures painted under the influence of Perugino. Its greatness comes out most clearly on comparison with the picture of the same subject, generally ascribed to Perugino, which hangs in the Museum at Caen. Both pictures represent the ceremony in a more or less traditional manner, but with far more similitude than one is likely to find between independent works. In each case the background is formed by a polygonal temple before which groups of people are engaged in their ordinary occupations. In the immediate foreground the high priest holds the hands of Mary and Joseph, while the latter is in the act of passing the ring over Mary’s finger. On one side are a group



THE MARRIAGE OF THE VIRGIN (1504)
Brera Gallery, Milan

of maidens attendant on Mary, while on the other are the unsuccessful suitors. In accordance with the apochryphal story the latter are represented with their rods, of which Joseph's alone has blossomed, indicating him as the fortunate bridegroom. In pictures of this subject one of the unsuccessful suitors is always represented as angrily breaking his rod, while another is usually about to strike Joseph. In this case, however, he also is bending his rod with a gesture of disappointment. The two compositions are almost identical in arrangement, though reversed as to right and left, and it is generally stated that Raphael painted his picture from a sketch by Perugino. Various critics feel that this is not the case, and the Caen "Sposalizio" has been ascribed to Lo Spagna, who is said to have copied it from Raphael's picture. Whatever may be the truth in this dispute, there is no question that Raphael's picture is immeasurably superior to that ascribed to Pietro. Perugino's church is a crude piece of architecture, almost identical with the Temple at Jerusalem, painted by him in one of his frescos in the Sistine Chapel, "Christ Delivering the Keys to Peter." Raphael's building is a noble construction, designed with great architectural skill, and worthy of perpetuation in enduring

stone. So fine are its proportions that its plan has been ascribed to Bramante, the greatest architect of his time.

A much greater advance, however, shows itself in the foreground groups. While in Perugino's picture the principal actors stand rigid and constrained, without movement or beauty, Raphael's group is instinct with life and no trace of stiffness remains. The traditional attitudes have become indistinct and we feel that the master has brought the scene out of the realm of decoration into that of real existence. The maidens attendant upon Mary are real creatures of flesh and blood, beautiful women, studied from nature, some of their heads being still recognizable in the Venetian sketchbook, and the suitors, though perhaps not as successfully done as Mary's attendants, are also studies from life, probably from student companions of the painter. Raphael himself evidently felt that this work was one to be proud of, for instead of signing his initials modestly in the corner as he had formerly done, his full name appears on the façade of the temple, "Raphael Urbinas, MDIHI."

CHAPTER III

RAPHAEL COMES TO FLORENCE

WHILE Raphael was exercising his art at Perugia, his friend Pinturicchio had received a commission from Pope Pius III to adorn with frescos the cathedral library at Siena. Although the contract especially provided that Pinturicchio should make with his own hand all the drawings for the episodes, both in the cartoon and on the wall, Vasari states that he sent for Raphael to assist him with the designs for these paintings. Some writers have laboured hard to reconcile this statement with reasonable honesty on the part of Pinturicchio, for there seems little doubt that many of the designs and sketches for these paintings were made by Raphael, as may be clearly seen from a study of the drawings preserved in various collections. It seems hardly necessary to go to this labour, however, for the contract did not bind Pinturicchio to make the designs himself. In addition he certainly did not follow these drawings literally, but made many

changes which, while to us they do not seem to have improved the final result, still show that the version as placed upon the walls owed its final form to the older painter. There is no trace of Raphael's hand in the finished paintings, and if Pinturicchio himself did not do all the work, other assistants than Raphael were concerned in it. There is even doubt as to whether Raphael spent any time at Siena more than was necessary to deliver his sketches. The landscapes in them are drawn from Perugia, Urbino, and other places, and the sole actual evidence which we have of his presence in Siena is a drawing in the Venetian sketch-book of an antique statue of the "Three Graces," which is still preserved in the cathedral library.

It is most likely that in Siena Raphael made the acquaintance of two or three young men of note in the history of art. One of them was a youngster, but a few years older than himself, who was beginning to get considerable reputation in Siena, not only for his great talent, but also because of his disreputable conduct. This was Antonio Bazzi, usually known as Sodoma, who was a pupil of Leonardo da Vinci, and a master of delicious colour and brilliant and voluptuous composition. His style had considerable effect upon Raphael,

who at that time could have no idea that the man whose method then seemed so admirable to him, would a few years later precede him in the decoration of the Pope's chambers at Rome, and that he would then have the task of painting out his former friend's works and substituting his own.

Another Sieneſe painter with whom Raphael never became very intimate, though they both did much work for the ſame patron, Agostino Chigi, was Baldassare Peruzzi. He was both a painter and an architect, and his ſtyle in the latter line is ſo akin to that of Raphael that we do not to-day know which of the two deſigned the Farnesina and the Chigi chapel. Peruzzi was Raphael's ſucceſſor in the works of St. Peter's after his death. Raphael probably alſo met at this time the Sieneſe wood carver Giovanni Barile, who decorated in intarſia and carved wood, from Raphael's deſigns, the doors and wainſcots of the Stanze of the Vatican. Of courſe, it is not certain that Raphael met theſe men in Siena, but whether his acquaintance was made with them there or not they were factors in his later life at Rome.

There is no doubt, however, that Raphael at this period paid a viſit to his native town, Urbino. Much had occurred ſince he was laſt

within its walls. Duke Guidobaldo had been driven out by Cæsar Borgia, but the year 1503 had seen the downfall of the Borgias and Guidobaldo's recovery of his capital, amid the rejoicings of the populace. Simultaneously Giuliano della Rovere, the Duke's brother-in-law, had become Pope as Julius II, an event which secured peace and influence to the dynasty of Montefeltro. Under these auspices one of the most delightful courts of the Renaissance blossomed at Urbino. Its guiding spirits were the Duchess Elisabeth and the Duke's sister, Giovanna della Rovere, and the latter became an especial patron of the young Raphael. An agreeable picture of this court has been left by Count Castiglione in his "*Libro del Cortigiano*." Castiglione mentions many men of great note as having been present at Urbino at this time, and there is no doubt that Raphael here made many friendships which proved valuable to him later, especially those of some men who afterward became cardinals. The conversations and discussions in which Raphael took part made him familiar with the classics and the humanities, and his association with courtiers and diplomats polished his manners to that famous urbanity which afterward won him so many friends. He made himself so agreeable to the

Duchess Giovanna that she provided him with the following flattering letter to Piero Soderini, Gonfalonier of Florence:

"Most magnificent and powerful seignior, whom I must honour as a father!

"He who will present this letter to you, Raphael, painter of Urbino, gifted with a fine talent in his art, has decided to pass some time at Florence to perfect himself in his studies. As his father, who was dear to me, was full of good qualities, so is the son a young man of modest and distinguished manners, and, therefore, I cherish him on every account and wish him to attain perfection. This is why I recommend him, as much and as earnestly as I can, to your highness, with entreaty that it may please you for love of me to accord him aid and protection at every opportunity. I shall regard as rendered to myself and as an agreeable token of friendship to me, every service and every kindness which he shall receive from your lordship.

"I commend myself to you, and am ready to render any good office in return.

"At Urbino, the first of October, 1504.

JOANNA FELTRIA DE RUVERE,

"Duchess of Sora, and Wife of
the Prefect of Rome."

During his sojourn at Urbino Raphael probably painted the two little companion pieces now in the Louvre, "St. George" and "St. Michael," both represented as fighting with dragons. How these pictures got from Italy to France remains unknown. They both belonged at one time to Mazarin and were bought from his heirs for Louis XIV. The underlying motive for both seems to have been the contemplation of the masques and chivalrous rejoicings which took place at Urbino, and the inspiration for one of them at least was probably Dante's "Inferno." This is the "St. Michael," in which the archangel, brilliantly clad and with uplifted sword, tramples on a horrid dragon which he is just about to decapitate. Around him are other horrid monsters; the whole atmosphere is that of mystery and necromancy. St. George, in the companion piece, having broken his lance in the dragon's breast, urges his galloping steed forward, while he puts all his strength into the downward stroke of his sword. In the background the fleeing queen is seen in a beautiful landscape of trees and rocks. The picture is strong in colouring, finished in composition, and exquisite in technique.

Raphael's stay at Urbino was not protracted; doubtless his intercourse with men of



ST. GEORGE AND THE DRAGON (1500-1502?)
Louvre, Paris

the world had taken him out of the narrow train of thought engendered by studio life and made him feel the boundless opportunities for progress which a wider sphere would reveal to him. His ambitions turned to Florence. Here was to be seen a magnificent rivalry between two great masters of art, Leonardo da Vinci, universal genius, then at the height of his fame, and Michelangelo Buonarroti, who, though twenty-three years younger, was already esteemed his equal.

Michelangelo had proved his consummate mastery of sculpture by cutting his colossal David from a block of marble long since abandoned by Agostino d'Antonio. In 1463 the latter had started to carve for the cathedral two figures of giants. One of them had been satisfactorily completed, but because he had broken his agreement by cutting the figure from a single block, instead of four, naturally at much higher cost, his contract was cancelled, and the second piece of marble, partly blocked out, remained unused. As a matter of fact, it had been so unskilfully hacked into, that the general opinion of masons and sculptors was that nothing could be done with it, save by the addition of separate pieces for projecting members. Michelangelo, however, was confident that he could carve the required

statue of David from the misshapen lump, and on the 15th of August, 1501, contracted to complete the statue within two years for four hundred and twenty ducats, the wages of his labourers, and the necessary wood for scaffolding. The contract bears a note on the side to the effect that on September 13th, 1501, he "started bravely to work on Monday morning," and, to the amazement of the experts, he completed the work early in 1504, although on the back of the figure, the crown of the head, and the bottom, he left portions of the original surface to show how close had been his calculations. An eyewitness has left a description of his work and tells us how, with a single blow of his mallet, he struck off pieces the size of a man's palm so close to his lines that a fraction of an inch deviation of the chisel would have ruined the work, and the single strokes were sometimes six inches long. When this enormous figure was completed, thirty of the most famous artists of Florence were called together to decide where it should be placed, and among these was Perugino, who voted against the position finally selected, the entrance to the Palazzo Vecchio.

After this great work had been completed, Michelangelo had accepted an order from the cathedral authorities for twelve statues of

apostles, only one of which was ever completed, for an even greater task was set for him. The city authorities decided to have painted upon opposite walls of the great council chamber representations of two important events in Florentine history, the battle of Anghiari, which the Florentines had won in 1440 over the mercenaries of the Duke of Milan, and the battle of Pisa, which really occurred at Cascina, where in 1494 the Pisan troops had surprised the Florentine army bathing in the Arno, but had been defeated by the brave men who rushed from the water to their arms and, half naked, overcame full-armed troops.

The first subject was entrusted to Leonardo da Vinci, the second to Michelangelo. The artistic world resounded with the strife. To each was assigned a great hall in which to work; Michelangelo used the Hospital of the Dyers at San Onofrio and Da Vinci received the keys of the Papal Chamber at Santa Maria Novella. Never was such an enormous work seen. Da Vinci's cartoon required a ream and twenty-nine quires of royal folio paper, more than two hundred and eighty-eight square feet. To line this required three pieces of linen, and eighty-eight pounds of flour were needed to paste the sheets together. From

1503 to 1506 the giants worked before the cartoons were ready for public exhibition, and yet after all this enormous expenditure of effort the pictures were never completed, and even the cartoons have not survived. It seems that Leonardo had intended to paint his picture in encaustic and had made experiments indicating that he could successfully bake his colours on the wall, but experiments on a small scale are not always truly indicative of final results. When the magnificent design was transferred in pigment and wax to the wall, and before it were lighted the fires which should render its beauty permanent and enduring, the degree of heat required to fuse the upper portions caused the colours to run below, so that Da Vinci in shame and disgust abandoned his unfinished work, and because of the defects of the process, even what he had done rapidly disintegrated and finally had to be removed. Michelangelo never began the transference of his design to the wall, for the blandishments of the Pope led him to remove to Rome to decorate the Sistine Chapel. The magnificent cartoons, of which only fragmentary sketches have come down to us, perished in later years through ignorance and greed.

Vasari says that the exhibition of these cartoons was what drew Raphael to Florence, but

here he is in error, as they were not publicly exhibited until 1506.

To be sure, these pictures later had a great influence on Raphael, as is evident by the fact that sketches of them from memory occur in the Venetian sketchbook, but what was of more value to him was the opportunity of friendly intercourse, not only with these masters, but with many other painters. Among them we may mention especially Fra Bartolommeo, with whom Raphael speedily became very intimate, so that each learned much from the other. Raphael also studied with extraordinary avidity the frescos of Masaccio in the Church of Santa Maria del Carmine, from whom he learned that fidelity to nature which more and more distinguishes his works from the beginning of his Florentine period. Of course, the transition from Umbrian to Florentine is not instantaneous; he could not at once abandon what he had already learned; but naturalistic tendencies and fullness of life increasingly characterize his work from this time forth. As a result of these assiduous studies he began, as Vasari says, "to attain an extraordinary perfection in art and in his style of execution."

Though Raphael, thanks to his recommendations from Urbino and also to the in-

fluence of Perugino, immediately obtained access to circles of high value to him, artistically and socially, he did not obtain work of much value. Soderini gave him no commissions for the republic, though Raphael later wrote to the Duchess Giovanna for a second letter. Orders he had to be sure, but they still came from Umbria or from Florentines who were willing to accept the work of one whom they esteemed to be of but moderate proficiency, in exchange for compensation which would have been scorned by men of greater reputation. Such was Angelo Doni, an enthusiastic but none too liberal connoisseur, who commissioned Raphael to paint portraits of himself and his wife. The two pictures now hang in the Pitti Palace. That of Angelo distinctly reminds us of the portrait of Raphael himself, painted perhaps a year later, though the former is far finer in colouring and endowed with a beautiful background of landscape and cloud-decked sky. In the portrait of Maddalena Doni the influence of Leonardo is distinctly apparent. We see here a marked resemblance to his masterpiece of female portraiture, the famous "Mona Lisa," until its theft in 1911 one of the chief treasures of the Louvre. Raphael, however, strove in vain to imitate the ineffable smile, though he came nearer to portraying



MADDALENA DONI (*about 1506*)
Pitti Palace, Florence

this charm in a pen drawing of a female head which is now in the Louvre. Though the two Doni portraits have by no means the intimate presentment of character to which Raphael later attained, they are strong work for such a young man.

These two portraits were followed by others, one of which is still preserved in the Pitti Palace and is usually known as "La Donna Gravida." It is the likeness of an unknown woman slightly turned to the left in an easy and natural attitude. It is fresher in colour, especially in the flesh tones, and more transparent in the shadows than the Doni pictures. Another of these early portraits hangs in the Tribune of the Uffizi; it is also without a name, though sometimes erroneously designated "La Fornarina." It depicts a young and blooming maiden facing to the right, with her hand grasping a fur collar which is carelessly thrown over her left shoulder. In her ears hang golden drops and she is crowned with a circlet of gold and enamel leaves. The most plausible suggestion as to the subject is that it may be Beatrice Pio of Ferrara, a supposition put forward by Passavant, who ascribes it incontestably to Raphael rather than to Sebastian del Piombo, to whom it is often attributed. The Hermitage at St. Petersburg also pos-

sesses a portrait of this period, representing an old man with white hair, dressed in a coat tied closely around his throat. This displays far more strength of character than the portrait of Angelo, though probably painted within a twelvemonth of it. It is supposed by some writers to represent the poet Sanazzaro, and it certainly resembles his portrait in the "Parnassus."

Raphael's stay at Florence was not uninterrupted, for in 1505 we find him again at Perugia, where he received a commission to paint a fresco in the Camaldolese Monastery of San Severo. This was his first use of this medium, but is hardly in condition to be satisfactorily compared with his later work. Time and dampness have caused most of the upper part of the fresco to disappear, and modern repainting has effaced or altered most of what remains. We can still, however, recognize how beautifully the splendid design is adapted to the space, a pointed arch, and the vigorous sweep of the lines shows that the young master had thrown off the thrall of traditional composition and was beginning to exercise his own inimitable judgment in the filling of space with figures. The fresco represents "The Holy Trinity," and while the representation of God the Father enthroned in the clouds at



LA DONNA GRAVIDA (*about 1506*)
Pitti Palace, Florence

the top has disappeared, the rest of the composition is still dimly visible. The angels hovering around Christ in the centre link the foreground to the heavens above in delightful curves, while the semicircle of saints seated on clouds before the Redeemer shows a magnificent mastery of line. The row of saints below was added by Perugino in 1521, after Raphael's death.

At Perugia Raphael painted also a great altarpiece for the nuns of San Antonio, representing the Madonna with four saints seated on a throne under a baldachin. On her knee sits the infant Christ, clothed in a white tunic, as is the case in no other of Raphael's Madonnas, because, as Vasari says, "it pleased those simple and pious ladies that he should be." The young Baptist, who looks up lovingly at the Christ, is also clothed in a camel's hair shirt. Above the main picture in a semicircle is the figure of God the Father in benediction surrounded by angels.

This picture is now in the possession of Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan and in July, 1912, was removed from the National Gallery at London, where it had been on exhibition for a number of years, to the Metropolitan Museum at New York, together with many million dollars' worth of art treasures belonging to Mr.

Morgan. It is understood that these are to be exhibited in a new wing of the Metropolitan Museum, as soon as it is ready for their proper installation.

The predella is composed of five sections and one of them, a "Pietà," is in the possession of Mrs. John L. Gardner of Boston. Two other sections, "St. Anthony of Padua" and "St. Francis of Assisi," are in Dulwich College. "The Road to Golgotha" belongs to Lord Windsor of London, and "The Agony in the Garden" is also in London in the possession of Baroness Burdett-Coutts.

Another Perugian altarpiece of this period is the "Ansidei Madonna," now in the National Gallery in London. This was painted for the Chapel of the Ansidei family in the Servite church of San Fiorenzo in Perugia, but was sold to Lord Robert Spencer in 1764. He presented it to his brother, the Duke of Marlborough, and at the Blenheim sale in 1885 it passed into the possession of the English nation, the price paid being £70,000 or about \$350,000. It represents the Virgin, with an open book on her knee in which the Child is reading, enthroned under an elaborately carved canopy. On one side stands St. John the Baptist and on the other St. Nicholas of Bari, almost life size, and the background



PORTRAIT OF SANAZZARO (*about 1505*)
Hermitage, St. Petersburg

is formed by a marble arch through which we discern a beautiful landscape. In both of these altarpieces Raphael reverts to the Umbrian style in the drawing of the figures and the enthronement of the Virgin, as was but natural considering the surroundings and the probability that his patrons desired something similar to earlier designs which they had seen.

It is evident that whatever his reputation in Florence, he must have been regarded as among the first painters in Umbria, for such great altarpieces would not otherwise have been entrusted to him. He was already so fully engaged that he never fulfilled a commission received in 1505 from the nuns of Monteluca near Perugia to paint a "Queen of Heaven." Though they paid thirty gold ducats in advance, Raphael never did more than make a preliminary sketch for the picture, and after twelve weary years of waiting, the nuns in 1517 agreed to accept an altarpiece by Giulio Romano and Francesco Penni.

From Perugia it is probable that he returned to Urbino, for before 1506 he painted for Duke Guidobaldo another picture of "St. George Slaying the Dragon." This shows a great advance over the earlier conception, especially in the drawing of the horse, though every detail of the work is freer and more

naturalistic. The saint in this picture does not have recourse to his sword, but has transfixed the monster with his lance at the first thrust and is leaping his horse over it in victory, while the rescued maiden appears in the background in prayer. This painting was destined for King Henry VII, who had bestowed upon Guidobaldo the Order of the Garter, in token whereof the saint wears below his left knee a blue band on which can be read the word "Honi." Raphael's name is signed in full upon the breast band of the horse. The picture was delivered to the English king in the summer of 1506 by Count Baldassare Castiglione, who was sent as an envoy to London. How it passed out of the English royal family is not known, but it was probably presented to some favourite, as in 1627 it belonged to the Duke of Pembroke. It was later in the possession of Charles I and was sold for £150 at the dispersal of his collection, but how or when it reached the Hermitage collection is not known.

Though the years between 1504 and 1506 were partly spent by Raphael in travel and the painting of pictures in various Umbrian towns, his home during this time and for the next two years was in Florence. We have already mentioned some of his associates and



ANSIDEI MADONNA (1504-1506)
National Gallery, London

customers, but before considering the characteristically Florentine style exemplified particularly in the great series of religious pictures beginning with the "Madonna del Gran-duca," it will be worth while to consider more fully the influences which surrounded him in this favoured city.

The town itself had already acquired practically its modern aspect. All the great buildings which are its pride had long been completed, making it architecturally one of the marvels of Europe. It had then a far more warlike aspect than now, for massive walls and towers protected it externally, and its streets were lined with fortress-like palaces, grimly reminiscent of the bitter warfare between Guelph and Ghibelline. But the time of internal strife was past, and the city was thriving and a centre of trade and learning. Art also flourished, and the city was full of architects, painters, and sculptors, attracted by the magnificent works of past times which they could study, and the great living masters by whose acquaintance and teaching they could profit.

The republic was endeavouring, though its means were straitened, to maintain the reputation of the Florentine school, and had given commissions within a few years for the colossal statue of David, twelve statues in the ca-

thedral, and the two great cartoons of Leonardo and Michelangelo, to mention only major works. Rich citizens were also prodigal with commissions, and the artistic reputation of Florence was so great that all the sovereigns of Europe sent there for artists to grace their courts. The social position of artists was higher than anywhere else in Europe, and the intellectual resources open to them were also of great extent. Not only were they able to study in various collections innumerable examples of the art of antiquity, but the greatest artists of the early Renaissance were represented in full measure. Giotto, Brunelleschi, Ghiberti, Donatello, Masaccio, Piero della Francesca, Domenico Ghirlandajo, and many more great painters and sculptors were represented by noble works, and Masaccio's frescos in the Brancacci chapel of the Carmine were especially frequented by artists, among whom Vasari mentions Fra Angelico, Filippo and Filippino Lippi, Alesso Baldovinetti, Andrea del Castagno, Verrochio, Domenico and Ridolfo Ghirlandajo, Sandro Botticelli, Leonardo da Vinci, Lorenzo di Credi, Perugino, Fra Bartolommeo, Mariotto Albertinelli, Michelangelo, Torrigiano, Andrea del Sarto and Granacci. Hardly a famous name in Florentine art is missing. That Raphael



ST. GEORGE WITH THE LANCE (1504-1505)
Hermitage, St. Petersburg

also worked here earnestly is proved by more than one borrowing in his Roman work.

More absorbing than the ancient glories of art, however, was the actual struggle between the rival schools of sweetness and grace, and strength and boldness, represented by Leonardo and Michelangelo. When the great cartoons of the "Battle of Anghiari" and the "Battle of Pisa" were displayed in the Papal Chamber in 1506, the artists as well as the general public flocked to see, and Raphael worked there with the rest. The great influence which Leonardo's works in especial had over him is thus testified to by Vasari:

"On becoming acquainted with the works of Leonardo da Vinci, who in the expression which he gave to his heads, whether male or female, had no equal, and who surpassed all other painters in the grace and movement which he imparted to his figures; seeing these works, I say, Raphael stood confounded in astonishment and admiration: the manner of Leonardo pleased him more than any other that he had ever seen, and he set himself zealously to the study thereof with the utmost zeal; by degrees, therefore, abandoning, though not without great difficulty, the manner of Pietro Perugino, he endeavoured as much as was possible to imitate that of Leo-

nardo. But whatever pains he took, and in spite of all his most careful endeavours, there were some points and certain difficulties of art in which he could never surpass the last named master. Many are without doubt of opinion that Raphael surpassed Leonardo in tenderness and in a certain natural facility, but he was assuredly by no means superior in respect of that force of conception and grandeur which is so noble a foundation in art, and in which few masters have proved themselves equal to Leonardo: Raphael has nevertheless approached him more nearly than any other painter, more particularly in the graces of colouring."

Evidence of Raphael's following of Leonardo has already been mentioned in connection with the portrait of Maddalena Doni, and various critics have collected a whole list of real or fancied resemblances to the same painter in various works of Raphael. It is possible that this has been carried to excess, however, for there is not much probability that the personal intercourse of the two was intimate. Leonardo was too much older and far too busy to give much of his time to the advances of an unknown youth, even when vouched for by his friend Perugino, and he returned to Milan before long, leaving his

great fresco barely commenced in the public palace.

With Michelangelo, also, Raphael had little to do, and the date was still distant when he should infuse elements of the great Florentine's style into his own work. Loyal to his friends, he must have resented the brutality of Michelangelo to Perugino and to Leonardo.

Michelangelo was of a morose and brutal temper at times and artistic annals are full of stories based on this fact, ranging from an occurrence in which his nose was broken by an exasperated acquaintance, to those which we are about to relate. The first was the result of the famous meeting held to decide the final resting place of the colossal "David," at which, after extremely diverse views had been expressed, the final choice of location was left to Michelangelo himself. Perugino did not approve of placing the statue in the open air, a decision in which the action of the elements in course of time, almost completely ruining the statue, fully bore out his contention, but thought that it should be placed under cover, as for instance, in the Loggia dei Lanzi. Some time afterward he expressed his opinions on the subject very freely in the presence of Michelangelo, whereupon the sculptor very

shortly informed him that his paintings were absurd and antiquated, or to translate literally, that he was "an old woman in art." We can but admit that Buonarroti's judgment was good, for the advance of the classic influence, to which Perugino had not responded, had left him hopelessly behind the times. Pietro's best course would have been to suffer in silence, but he indignantly brought the case before the Council of Eight, seeking damages for the injury to his reputation. His case was dismissed and all that he obtained was ridicule and sarcasm, so that he retired from Florence in bitter indignation.

Toward Leonardo Michelangelo was no less provocative, as may be seen by the following account left by an anonymous writer in a manuscript of 1510, now in the National Library at Florence:

"Leonardo was of a handsome person, graceful and with a beautiful countenance. He wore a short rose-coloured cloak reaching the knee at a time when long dresses were worn, and he had a magnificent head of hair, which fell in curls and carefully dressed, as far down as his breast. Leonardo passing together with G. da Gavina by Santa Trinità, from the bench of the Spini, where there was a meeting of honourable men, who disputed

regarding a passage of Dante, they called to Leonardo requesting him to explain the passage. It happened by chance that at that moment Michelangelo came in sight and was called by one of those present, when Leonardo said that Michelangelo would explain the passage, who fancying that this was said in mockery, angrily replied, 'Explain it yourself, who designed a horse to be cast in bronze which you could not cast, and shamefully gave it up.' And so saying he turned his back and went on his way, saying, whilst Leonardo reddened at these words intended to wound him, 'and you were believed in by these Milanese block-heads.' "

The slur referred to Leonardo's failure to cast in bronze the Sforza statue, and of course Da Vinci was far too great a man to be injured by any such insult as this; but doubtless Raphael's so-called enmity with Michelangelo dates from this period and is due in large measure to his loyalty to his friends.

In the studio of old Perugino, and even more in the studio of Baccio d'Agnolo, a distinguished Florentine architect, Raphael made the acquaintance of many talented men, including Andrea Sansovino, Ridolfo Ghirlandajo, Antonio and Giuliano da Sangallo, and numerous others. Here, in the winter eve-

nings, many a pleasant discussion or gossiping tale made the time pass pleasantly, and here were perpetrated or planned many of those scorching witticisms and questionable practical jokes for which the artistic community of Florence was so well-known. Free and even caustic criticism was the rule, and no artist was too famous to escape a free discussion of his talents and achievements. It was a rough school, but the judgments were fair, and the lessons conveyed valuable.

The most intimate acquaintance made by Raphael with any Florentine painter was with one whose style was in great contrast to his own. This was Baccio della Porta, known after he had become a monk as Fra Bartolommeo. A mystic from his youth, he had enthusiastically accepted the teachings of Savonarola and had taken part in feeding the famous bonfire of the carnival of 1497. Savonarola had denounced the vanities of the flesh, and his enthusiastic followers had brought to the piazza, in accordance with his pleadings, not only the vanities of the carnival, masks and dominos, rich dresses and musical instruments, but also all of their other possessions which reflected pagan practices. They heaped in a pyramid their books and manuscripts, their statues and pictures; Fra Bartolommeo,

Lorenzo di Credi and many other artists brought, for sacrifice, their studies from nature. An octagonal pyramid of fifteen steps, one hundred and eighty feet high, and more than seven hundred around, was constructed in the square and covered with the magnificent articles pledged to destruction. Aghast at this vandalism, a Venetian merchant offered twenty-two thousand ducats, nearly a quarter of a million dollars, for this irreplaceable collection of valuables, but his offer was in vain. At the given signal, four men set fire to the corners of the structure, and the flames arose to heaven with blare of trumpets, peal of bells and shouts of joy.

Baccio's zeal for Savonarola's doctrines was not fair-weather friendship, and he still admired him when the fickle Florentine populists had turned from the doctrines of his friend. Sword in hand, he took up his station in the threatened monastery of St. Mark and fought by the side of the monks. When the defence was unavailing and Savonarola fell into the hands of his enemies, Baccio made a vow that if he escaped with his life he would become a Dominican monk. Savonarola was burned at the stake and Baccio retired from the world, after painting his magnificent fresco of the "Last Judgment," one of the

greatest achievements of Tuscan art. Shortly before Raphael's arrival at Florence, he had begun to paint again, and the young man sought out and became very intimate with the lonely monk. Each gained from the intercourse; Fra Bartolommeo imparted secrets of colouring and composition, while Raphael led the monk to study nature instead of depending on lay figures and imaginative ideals. Their friendship was never broken, and the monk visited Raphael at Rome in 1514, three years before his death at the age of forty-two.

In spite of his many friendships, during his whole residence in Florence Raphael never received a commission from the rulers of the republic, nor from the wealthy patricians of the first rank, and not a single Tuscan writer on art mentions him, though they lavish adjectives on third-rate painters favoured in high circles. But a single altarpiece was ordered in Florence, the "Madonna del Baldacchino," by the Dei family. His other large works were for Umbria, and the lack of important commissions was probably the principal determining cause of the numerous easel pictures painted in Florence. We need not regret the fact, for the world thereby gained numerous works of the purest beauty.

Of Raphael's friends among the minor art-

lovers of Florence, the most important was Taddeo Taddei, a great friend of Bembo, who possessed a famous bas-relief of the "Virgin and Child" by Michelangelo. He became so fond of Raphael that he gave him a room and a place at table in his own house. Raphael gladly accepted the hospitality, and gave his host in return two paintings, including one of his most beautiful works, the "Madonna in the Meadow." In 1508, when Taddeo contemplated a trip to Urbino, Raphael wrote to his uncle bespeaking every possible hospitality for his friend. Another Florentine connoisseur, Lorenzo Nasi, also showed the artist kindnesses, and to him Raphael presented as a wedding gift the "Madonna del Cardellino," now one of the gems of the Uffizi.

Another patron was Angelo Doni, whose portrait and that of his wife have been described. He was noted for his generosity, and had a famous controversy with Michelangelo, from whom he had ordered the "Holy Family" now in the Uffizi. When the picture was completed the painter sent it home and with it the bill, amounting to seventy ducats. Doni estimated its value at forty ducats and returned this sum. Michelangelo demanded a hundred or the return of the picture. Doni then tendered the original seventy, whereupon

Michelangelo replied that the price had been raised to one hundred and forty. Fearful that further haggling would make the price prohibitive, Doni reluctantly paid, and added the picture to his collection, which was large and valuable.

Raphael also occasionally sold pictures to foreign connoisseurs, as we learn from his letter to his uncle in 1508, and so his stay in the Tuscan city was beneficial, both in the technical and artistic progress he made, and in the financial sense, though to a lesser degree.

CHAPTER IV

THE FLORENTINE PERIOD

THE most important artistic result of Raphael's work during the years between 1506 and 1508 was the beautiful series of Madonnas, which are characterized in the highest degree by ideal beauty of the purest type. The Madonnas which he painted in Umbria were imbued with the characteristic feeling of mediæval art, which regarded as its highest achievement the portrayal of the soul's emotions, regarding the body as a matter of minor importance. The Florentines, however, were realists who believed that art should faithfully transcribe the beauties of nature, and Raphael in his Florentine Madonnas passed over into the ranks of the realists. In this frame of mind he felt that the most perfect method of portraying heavenly beauty was the representation of beautiful human beings.

No one has found it easy to ascribe absolute dates to the Madonnas of the Florentine period. Vasari mentions only the "Madonna

del Cardellino," the "Canigiani Holy Family," two small Madonnas presented to Duke Guidobaldo, the "Madonna del Baldacchino," and another which was not finished when Raphael left for Rome, but was later completed by Ghirlandajo. While three or four of the Madonnas are dated, there is some confusion as to the reading of the Roman numerals, and most of the dates are hence in uncertainty to the extent of a year or so. The best that can be done, therefore, is to consider them approximately in the order of development, leaving disputes about chronology to treatises of a more critical nature.

One of the most celebrated of the simple groups of Mother and Child is the "Madonna del Granduca," which hangs in the Pitti palace at Florence. The name of the picture comes from the fact that in 1799 the Grand Duke Ferdinand III of Tuscany purchased it for the small sum of 3360 lire and became so fond of it that he never parted from it, whether at home or travelling, and even carried it with him into exile. It is easy for the beholder to appreciate this devotion when contemplating its marvellous beauty. The Virgin, clothed in a beautiful blue mantle, gleams forth from a dark background. Her rounded figure is shown but half length and yet so per-



MADONNA DEL GRANDUCA (*about 1505*)
Pitti Palace, Florence

fect is the composition that one never thinks of this detail, so wonderfully is the attention held in the upper portion of the picture. The veiled head of the Virgin is still bent pensively forward with modestly drooping eyelids, a survival of the Peruginesque manner, but the oval of the face is broader, the contours more rounded and fuller, the mouth somewhat larger, and the cheekbone more fully clothed. There is more personality with no less soulfulness in the features of the Mother. The Child, though still chubby, does not have the exaggerated roundness of earlier representations. He sits firmly in his Mother's hand, partly supported by a sash wound about his waist, and turns his head toward the spectator with a peaceful gaze, half clinging to the Mother and yet unafraid. The original drawing for this picture is in the Uffizi, but lacks much of the grace of the finished work. The hair, instead of escaping in golden locks from under the veil, is almost entirely covered, and the right hand hangs listlessly at Mary's side instead of lovingly supporting the Child.

Contemporary with this Madonna is the "Small Madonna of Lord Cowper," which now hangs in the gallery at Panshanger. In this the Virgin is seated in an open landscape and the Child, though standing in her lap, is

drawn in very much the same position as in the last picture. It is generally agreed that this Madonna falls far behind the "Granda," the heads being too large for the bodies and the work betraying in spots the touch of an inferior hand. The Panshanger collection also contains another Madonna probably painted in 1508, Raphael's last year in Florence, and known as the "Large Madonna of Lord Cowper." In this the Babe alone looks out of the picture, while Mary's motherly gaze is fixed intently on him. He sits on a pillow in her lap and gazes at the spectator with a pleasing smile. The Child in this appears older and larger than in any of the other earlier Madonnas, and the whole treatment has matured to a fully naturalistic technique in which all the emotions, though full of religious fervour, are human.

The Munich Gallery possesses a beautiful example of this period, the "Madonna della Casa Tempi." Here the standing Mother clasps the Babe lovingly to her heart, laying cheek against cheek, and the group forms an indissoluble whole of feeling so tender as to completely win the heart and defy analysis. It is one of Raphael's noblest renditions of mother love.

Full of tenderest beauty is the "Madonna



MADONNA DELLA CASA TEMPI (*about 1505*)
Old Pinakothek, Munich



CANIGIANI HOLY FAMILY (*about 1507*). See page 88
Old Pinakothek, Munich

of the House of Orleans," a picture which has experienced many vicissitudes. This is probably one of those which Vasari says was painted for Duke Guidobaldo. In 1786 it was in the Regent's gallery in Paris, one of nine undoubted Raphaels possessed by this gallery. It was sold at the dispersal of the collection for five hundred pounds, and in the next half century changed hands a number of times. In 1869 it came back into the Orleans family, being purchased by the Duc d'Aumale for 150,000 francs and is now in the Orleans gallery at Chantilly. It is in perfect condition and shows a high refinement of technique, the lights being of a most remarkable transparency, while the shadows are dense and velvety. It is a masterpiece of composition. The Mother bends forward, loving but melancholy, supporting the Babe with one hand behind his shoulder and with the other grasping his left foot. He leans away from her, holding with his chubby hands to the hem of her dress and gazing out of the picture at the spectator. Youth, tenderness, unfathomable resignation, make the face of this Virgin one long to be remembered.

Last in point of time of the two-figure groups painted at Florence comes the "Madonna della Casa Colonna" of the Berlin

Museum. Here again the Babe seated in his Mother's lap hangs by the hem of her gown while looking at the spectator. She has been reading and holds the book extended in her left hand while she gazes with affection on the Child. The fullest freedom of treatment has been given to this composition; neither veil nor halo appear, and the Virgin is fully and frankly a woman, full of exuberant life, but unwilling to be disturbed in her pious meditation to respond to the boy's impetuous demand. The picture was never completed, but even in its unfinished state is a glorious achievement.

Ascribed to Raphael at this period are various pictures whose designs alone are probably due to him. One is known as "The Virgin with the Pink," existing in several examples at Lucca, Alnwick, Leipzig, Rome and five or six other galleries. It is a pretty group showing the Virgin seated in a room, holding in her left hand a cluster of pinks and in the right a single flower which engrosses the attention of the Child. Another is the "Bridgewater Madonna," in which the Child, recumbent in his Mother's lap, grasps her veil and apparently tries to escape from her embrace. The carefully studied lines of this picture show the influence of a careful study of composition,



MADONNA DELLA CASA COLONNA (1507-1508)
Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin

which was later to bear fruit in innumerable new designs. The purity of form shows the Florentine influence, but the inferior execution of even the best copy betrays the work of a disciple. Other examples of this subject are in Florence, Naples, the National Gallery, and innumerable other collections.

Another design repeated over and over again by the hand of pupils is the "Virgin and Sleeping Christ," a motive later repeated in the "Madonna di Loretto" and the "Virgin of the Diadem." The earlier form is possibly that spoken of by Raphael in his letter to Simone Ciarla, where he says that he will gain three hundred ducats from a single cartoon. All these pictures show Mary kneeling in a meadow, accompanied by the infant Baptist, raising a veil from the head of the sleeping Christ. The scene is laid in a beautiful landscape, with walls and towers in the distance. Seven or eight examples are extant, the best being that in the Brocca collection at Milan ascribed by Crowe and Cavalcaselle to Ridolfo Ghirlandajo.

We must now turn to a more complex grouping, that of the Mother, Child and the infant St. John. Naturally the increased number of figures calls for a more careful study of composition, but at the same time

allows a far greater diversity of arrangement. The earliest of these is the "Terranuova Madonna" of the Berlin Museum. Here the religious tradition is strongly in evidence, as, in the stereotyped Umbrian mode, the infant John, the forerunner, holds a cross of reeds and a scroll bearing the words, "Ecce Agnus Dei," in reference to the future passion of the Son of God. The forms also are reminiscent of the Peruginesque and it is evident that the painter has not arrived at certainty in his composition. The introduction of the infant Baptist on the right of Mary, looking lovingly up at Christ, has so unbalanced the composition that a third sainted child, perhaps St. John the Evangelist, is forced into the composition at the right to balance this. This addition, is, of course, a mistake. The child means nothing, expresses nothing, and simply proves the painter's unskilful handling of the increased number of figures. The saving grace of the picture, however, is the beautiful face and form of the Virgin, reminiscent of Leonardo, as might perhaps be expected at this early period.

The next Madonna of this type is that known as the "Madonna in the Meadow" of the Vienna Gallery. Here the handling is fully successful; though forms and features



MADONNA DELLA DUCA DI TERRANUOVA (*about 1505*)
Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin

show the influence of Da Vinci, the arrangement is wholly Raphael's, and the numerous drawings still extant show how seriously and laboriously Raphael studied to make his composition a success. In this, as in the pictures next to be considered, the arrangement is severely artificial, a decided triangle whose formality is due to the teaching of Fra Bartolommeo. Mathematical as the structure may be, it is apparently wholly unconstrained. The Virgin is seated slightly turned toward the left and supporting with both hands the infant Christ, who grasps the little cross held by St. John, at whom the Virgin is gazing. The colouring of this picture owes its inspiration to Leonardo, to whose influence we may also ascribe the beautiful landscape of deep green, stretching away to a lake beyond which we discern a city with churches and castles; the herbage in the foreground is painted with loving care. This picture was painted for Taddeo Taddei, whose heirs sold it in the seventeenth century to Archduke Ferdinand Carl of the Tyrol, from whose Schloss Ambras it was transferred in 1773 to the Imperial Gallery at Vienna.

The Tribune of the Uffizi displays the second of these pyramidal arrangements, known as the "Madonna del Cardellino." The ar-

rangement is very similar to that of the preceding picture; the Virgin sits facing more to the front and holds in one hand a book, while with the other she caresses the infant John. Her own Son has been listening to the reading and his face is still grave and attentive, though he has turned and reached out his tiny hand to touch the prize of the impetuous John who, full of activity, has just run up with a beautiful goldfinch which he has managed to capture. Though so impossible, the scene gives us the impression of being thoroughly natural, and we forget the artificiality of the arrangement save on definite analysis. The picture is completed by an extensive and varied landscape of remarkable beauty, and again the foreground is studded with carefully painted flowers and herbs. This Madonna is unfortunately not in good condition. It was painted as a wedding present for Raphael's friend Lorenzo Nasi, and was held in great esteem by the Nasi family for many years, but came near destruction in 1547, when the house in which it was kept was thrown down by an earthquake. The panel was broken into many fragments, but these were collected and laboriously put together again, so that the damage is not so conspicuous at first glance as might be expected. Several ancient copies exist.



MADONNA IN THE MEADOW (1505-1506)
Vienna Gallery

By far the most successful of all the Florentine Madonnas is that of the Louvre, universally known as "*La Belle Jardinière*." As may be inferred from the title, the treatment of the grass, plants, and flowers in the foreground is most masterly, but in spite of all the care given to the painting of details they remain fully subordinated to the general effect. The landscape in this picture is one of the most extensive and beautiful shown in any of Raphael's Madonnas, but in spite of this the lovely human group completely dominates it. In the background we see a lake bathing the slopes of distant mountains and nearer us, on one side a village, and on the other a few trees clad with the scanty foliage of early spring. In the foreground on a little hillock sits the young Mother absorbed in contemplation of her Son, who is reaching for the holy book with an evident desire to have it read to him. He stands kneeling against her knee with his feet on one of hers and smiles up into her face with love and confidence. On the right kneels the young St. John with his cross, while his whole soul pours forth in a look of adoration for his young companion. From the painter's standpoint this picture easily excels all its predecessors. There is absolute confidence in the handling of line, form and colour.

The face of the Virgin has a perfection of ideal beauty above the previous Madonnas and yet is evidently almost a portrait of some actual model whose features needed little idealization. Tradition tells us that one of the flower girls of Florence posed for the Virgin, but one would seek in vain to-day among all the flower girls of Italy for one of such pure blonde beauty.

In the National Gallery at Budapest we find the unfinished "Esterhazy Madonna," a less successful arrangement, in which the Virgin kneels and holds the Child on a mantle thrown over a rock, while he endeavours to escape to play with the young St. John who is reading from a scroll. A study for this is in the Uffizi and shows fully as much spirit as the painting, which is attributed, with some reserve, to Raphael.

A further development of the triangular composition is the "Canigiani Holy Family," now in the Old Pinakothek at Munich. Instead of confining himself here to three figures he has added two more. Kneeling in the foreground are the two mothers, Mary and Elizabeth, each holding her child in her lap. The Virgin holds a missal which she has been reading, but at the sight of the young Baptist she has set down the Babe, who grasps with inter-



MADONNA DEL CARDELLINO (1505-1506)
Uffizi Gallery, Florence

est the scroll held by his youthful friend. While these two figures tie the composition together, in the next plane we find a discordant element, in the direction of the glance of Elizabeth, looking inquiringly up at the aged St. Joseph who, leaning on his staff, dominates the group. The difference in age and nobility of race is markedly brought out by the contrast between the aged and open-mouthed Elizabeth, a peasant type, and the noble features of the youthful Virgin. The same difference appears between the sturdy and curly-headed John and the delicate and beautiful Christ. The background is formed by a beautiful landscape stretching away to low hills covered with churches and other buildings. The sky was once occupied by cherubs, gazing down at the holy group, but an officious gallery inspector named Krahe at Düsseldorf decided early in the nineteenth century that they were superfluous and had them painted over. It is but fair to his memory that I should add that a French restorer named Colin had previously cleaned them so maladroitly that their condition left much to be desired. This picture was painted for a Florentine patrician named Domenico Canigiani. How it passed out of his possession we do not know, but in 1634 it was in the

Tribune of the Uffizi, from which it passed at the marriage of Anna Maria, the daughter of Cosimo III, with John William, Elector Palatine, to the Düsseldorf Gallery, which was later merged with the Munich collection. A number of copies of this exist, and from one in the Corsini Gallery at Florence we may discover the arrangement of the angels, three on the right and four on the left side of the sky.

Another group of Florentine pictures is composed of "Holy Families," representing Joseph, Mary and the Child. In this group we find the "Holy Family with the Lamb" of the Prado Museum, the "Madonna with the Beardless Joseph" of St. Petersburg, and the "Madonna of the Palm" in the Bridge-water Gallery at London. The first picture is not mentioned by any of Raphael's contemporaries and was discovered in the accumulations of the Escorial within the last century. How or when it came to Spain we do not know, but it is signed and dated 1507 in gold letters on the border of the gown at the Virgin's throat. The composition seems to have been suggested by a picture of Leonardo in the Louvre in which the Child is represented as throwing his leg over the shoulder of a lamb. Raphael has carried the action further,

La Belle Jardinière (about 1507)
Louvre, Paris



and placed the Child, supported by the Virgin, astride the recumbent animal. The attitude of Mary, half kneeling, and of St. Joseph bending forward supported by his staff, are somewhat reminiscent of the "Canigiani Holy Family." The Child, however, is not derived from any other picture but is a wholly new and thoroughly natural conception. Though small, the picture is beautifully painted, and a lovely, if minute, landscape occupies the background. Though we know nothing of its history, this was evidently a most popular subject, for a number of sketches of it exist and also copies innumerable.

The Holy Family called "The Madonna with the Beardless Joseph" in St. Petersburg owes its name to the fact that the aged father, standing with both hands on his staff, is represented with a smooth face, quite contrary to the accepted tradition. It is reversed in position from the last picture, as the Madonna is on the right leaning over the Child, who rests in her lap and clings to her bosom as if for protection, while, turning sharply round, he looks at the pensive face of Joseph. The Madonna is endowed with matronly beauty, and the painting is much stronger than in the Prado picture. Nevertheless the whole impression of the work, despite the beautiful

landscape seen through an arch at the right, is rather gloomy, an impression which is heightened by the dark background of the wall. The history of this picture is in doubt, and it has been traced back only to the seventeenth century, when it is supposed to have belonged to the Duc d'Angoulême. Before leaving Paris it passed through several hands and was cleaned and somewhat injured by restoration. It is possibly the second picture painted by Raphael for Taddeo Taddei, as mentioned by Vasari.

Another of the Florentine Holy Families is the "Madonna of the Palm," at present in Bridgewater House in London. This is a beautiful group, and the lines are placed with great skill to fill satisfactorily the circular panel on which it was originally painted. The subject of the picture is a rest during the flight into Egypt, and hence we note the introduction of the single palm tree into a landscape which bears the imprint of central Italy in every other respect. Such incongruities, however, stood for nothing in an age of naïveté when the introduction of a traditional attribute at once transported the beholder, in fancy, to the scene or region supposed to be represented. In this picture St. Joseph, instead of being placed in the background, is of



MADONNA WITH THE BEARDLESS JOSEPH (about 1506)
Hermitage, St. Petersburg

equal importance with Mother and Child in the principal plane. He kneels at the left side of the picture, supporting himself on his staff, and offers flowers which he has just plucked to the infant Christ, who grasps them with both hands. Seated astride the Virgin's knee, the Babe is safely held by a veil wrapped round her shoulders and knotted about his body, while she at the same time supports him with both hands. She is represented as seated on a grassy mound under a palm. The colouring is brilliant, the Virgin's gown being bright red with violet shadows and yellowish lights, while St. Joseph is clothed in a purple tunic and a yellow cloak. The original beauty and harmony of the colour scheme has been somewhat injured by repainting and necessary retouching, for the original panel was split vertically in two places and these cracks, of course, had to be repaired after the picture had been transferred to canvas. The picture cannot be traced with certainty much farther back than 1680, when it belonged to the French Countess de Chiverni. After passing through various hands it was bought by the Earl of Bridgewater in 1792 for twelve hundred pounds at the sale of the Orleans collection. A beautiful drawing in the Louvre at Paris is reminiscent of both this and the St. Peters-

burg "Holy Family," and a preliminary sketch also exists at Lille.

Another fine work of the Florentine period is the beautiful picture of "St. Catherine" in the National Gallery. This represents the saint in somewhat more than half length standing in a meadow through which flows a river, beyond which we discern farms and distant mountain ranges. Leaning with her left arm on the wheel of her martyrdom, she stands with her body thrown backward and her right hand resting upon her breast as if to proclaim her devotion, while she raises her eyes to a glory of rays descending from the heavens. The brilliant colours of her robe and mantle are still fresh and brilliant, and the picture is painted with great spirit and in so transparent a medium that one can discern the outlines on the panel through the work. It is painted on wood and was formerly in the Aldobrandini collection. After a number of changes of ownership it came to the National Gallery in 1839. A full size cartoon, pinholed for use, is in the Louvre in Paris.

To this period also we must ascribe Raphael's own portrait, now in the famous collection of self-portraits of painters in the Uffizi Gallery. Though it represents Raphael at the age of about twenty-three, no sign

of beard or mustache is visible and, in fact, it was not until some years later that a little down appeared upon his upper lip. The picture represents a young man with brown eyes and flowing chestnut locks, whose elongated face betrays delicacy and grace rather than strength of character. One would perhaps not call him a beautiful youth, but his countenance is frank and serious and the direct gaze of the clear eyes is magnetic and convincing. Unfortunately the picture has suffered so from time and repainting that much of its original beauty is lost. Some ancient copies, however, show that the likeness has not been seriously impaired.

In the last year of his residence at Florence, Raphael found time to paint a great sacred picture, "The Entombment," the commission for which had been given him while he was still at Perugia. It had been ordered for the church of San Francesco by Atalanta Baglioni, who was moved not only by piety but by the sorrowful feeling of a bereaved mother, and commemorates one of the most cruel and barbarous tragedies of even that blood-thirsty epoch.

At the beginning of the sixteenth century the Baglioni were in full control of the destinies of Perugia, but Guido, head of the fam-

ily, with difficulty imposed his rule on some of the turbulent members of his own clan. Leader of a riotous band of wild youngsters, his nephew Grifone lusted for the sweets of power, and waited a propitious time to seize control. Guido's son Astorre was betrothed to Lavinia Colonna, and the wedding was celebrated in June, 1500, with every pomp which the wealth of the Baglioni could procure. The great piazza was shaded from the sun by an enormous velarium, the marriage procession entered the square under a triumphal arch, and the guests were entertained by feasting, dancing, and a tournament. Guido's spies had informed him that Grifone was conspiring against his family, and that the marriage ceremonies had but postponed and not averted the danger of an uprising. Yet they were taken completely by surprise when the blow fell a few nights later. A band of murderers rushed unopposed through the corridors of Guido's palace. Astorre was run through as he leaped from his bed, and the devotion of his bride, who sought to interpose her own body to shield him from the blows, was in vain. Guido, another of his sons, Gismondo, and a nephew, Simonetto, also fell, and their bodies were stripped and cast into the streets.

Horried by the awful spectacle of murder and plunder, Grifone's mother, Atalanta, and his wife, Zenobia, fled to a house outside the walls, where they refused even to speak to him, much less pardon him. With their curses sounding in his ears, he returned to see to the burial of his victims, and safety for himself. Vain was his hope; Guido's nephew, Giovan Paulo, after seeking help from Città di Castello, returned at the head of eight hundred men, and quickly forced the gates. Armed in proof, he galloped through the streets seeking vengeance. He met Grifone, but disdained to soil his hands with his blood, leaving the evil task to his followers. They pierced the murderer through and through, and left him bleeding and mortally hurt in the gutter, afterward massacring his adherents till the last man had been accounted for, and the market place and the churches were deluged with blood. Atalanta and Zenobia hurried back to the city at the sound of strife and came upon the bleeding form of Grifone in the street. Atalanta's grief was so touching that the hardened men-at-arms respectfully turned away as she threw herself on her son, imploring him to forgive those who had killed him. Too weak to utter more than an incoherent assent, he pressed her hand, received her blessing and expired. The

next morning the desecrated churches were solemnly cleansed with wine, and Atalanta vowed that she would build an altar to Grifone's memory, and, to perpetuate the memory of her own grief or to assuage it by praying before the sorrow of another unhappy mother, would commission the painting of an entombment.

Raphael's task in the completion of this picture was far different from the works which he loved. The peaceful and holy beauty of the Madonna or Holy Family presented no difficulty to his ardent imagination. Themes and compositions were ever at the point of his pen. Sketches innumerable, for both completed works and those which were never even begun, show his facility in such subjects; but the concentration of his faculties on the uncongenial task of portraying death and grief necessitated painful study and much labour. The genesis of the picture is hard to trace, as the sketches are not dated and their actual sequence is in doubt. It seems apparent, however, that his first plans were for a "Deposition," and a drawing at Oxford shows that his first sketch was greatly influenced by Perugino's picture of this subject painted for Santa Chiara in Florence and now in the Pitti Palace. Here the body of the dead Christ rests

upon the knees of the two Marys. At the left three women sustain the Virgin or console her in her grief, and at the right are St. John, Joseph of Arimathea and two other Saints. Another Oxford drawing shows studies for the body of Christ and for St. John with three other male figures. This drawing is, strangely enough, pinholed for use, though no picture has come down to show that it was actually painted. Another larger drawing, much more finely finished, is in the Louvre in Paris. This shows a similar composition, the figures of Christ and the Virgin being almost identical in position and arrangement. Mary Magdalen is grasping the left hand and right knee of the Saviour, instead of looking with clasped hands and sympathizing gesture at the fainting Virgin. Mary's third attendant is replaced by the turbaned Joseph of Arimathea, who stretches out his hand in a gesture of pity for his inability to console. His place behind Mary is taken by a stooping maiden who raises the Virgin's veil, and the other male figures are reduced to one. The design is good, but the handling is immature and the drapery is complicated and ineffectual.

These studies and sketches must have consumed much time and thought, but after all the labour expended, the whole design was

abandoned and Raphael started to work again on a new theme showing the removal of the body of Christ just after its descent from the cross. Instead of a picture of repose we have a subject full of movement and far more complicated in composition. The body of Christ is being carried in a sheet by two men, one of whom supports the knees and the other the head and arms. Even in this version great changes are apparent between the squared-off sketch in the Uffizi and the finished painting which is now in the Borghese Gallery. The influence of Perugino was cast off entirely, as far as the main group was concerned, though still perhaps recognizable in the fainting Virgin and her companions, and it is replaced by a composition drawn from Mantegna and by a virility of treatment reminiscent of Michelangelo. That the latter's influence was strong is proved by a passage in Vasari, who says: "It was only after long efforts that Raphael succeeded in appreciating the beauty of undraped figures and in triumphing over the difficulties of foreshortening. He finally did so by studying the cartoons drawn by Michelangelo for the Council Room at Florence. Until he wished to change and improve his style he never made any thorough study of the nude, having hitherto only drawn after nature in



THE ENTOMBMENT (1507)
Borghese, Rome

the manner of Perugino, his master, and with the addition of that graceful expression which seems in his case to be a natural gift. He accordingly set himself to compare the muscular structure of bodies which had been flayed with that of living subjects, and to study the effects of its mechanism upon the various parts or upon the human body as a whole. He also studied the articulation of the bones, the junction of the tendons, and the whole network of the veins, thus gradually building up the knowledge necessary to a painter."

That Raphael's work in this picture was preceded by a careful study on these lines, is evident from the complicated attitudes and lifelike rendition of the straining bearers, an element of composition entirely his own, for no previous painter of the subject had ever attacked such anatomical difficulties. Long study went before this apparently easy mastery of the difficulties of drawing, for the sketches of the bearers exist in more than one position. He was so carried away with this new form and the vigour and strength of his final arrangement, that the squared drawing of the completed work in the Uffizi shows that it was his intention to omit the Virgin entirely, but either his own sense of fitness told him that his composition was not complete, or Atalanta

was not satisfied with his sketch, for another change was made. The square composition was lengthened out horizontally and the group of the Virgin fainting in the arms of her attendants was added to the right. This necessitated another slight and final change. The figure of an attendant maiden, which in the Uffizi sketch comes between the bearer at the right and the Magdalen, was removed and added to the group attendant on the Virgin, and the bearers were changed so that a youth instead of a bearded man holds the Saviour's knees, while the older bearer is at the head.

Thus, after many changes, was perfected the painting as we now see it in the Borghese. The cartoon was made at Florence; the picture was probably painted at Perugia. Damaged as it is to-day, it is still full of glorious colour and is equal in breadth of treatment and beauty of landscape background to anything Raphael had as yet achieved. Now the panel is split in many places, patching and repainting have marred its beauty, but Vasari voices the opinion of Raphael's contemporaries in his description, which is as follows: "This divine picture represents Christ laid in the tomb; the body is executed with the utmost excellence, and the picture is so fresh that one might fancy it has just been painted. Raphael has

quite caught the grief of the relatives, who are taking their last look at one who was very dear to them, and who carries with him the honour, the virtue, and the fortune of a whole family. The Virgin is in a fainting fit, and the other women are weeping; nothing can be more touching than the expression on their faces. Special attention is due to St. John, who crosses his hands and lowers his head with a gesture which must touch the most hardened heart. Indeed, the scrupulous care, the sympathy, the art and the grace with which this work has been executed are most surprising. It fills with admiration all who look at it, so expressive are the figures and so beautiful the draperies."

Modern opinion as to the merits of this picture is perhaps not so high. Spontaneous it could not be called, and its laborious execution renders it perhaps more studied and less captivating than any of Raphael's compositions. It would be going too far, however, to hold with Von Rumohr that Ghirlandajo is the author. Modern critics without exception allow both plan and execution to Raphael, who also painted the predella, consisting of *grisaille* representations of the Christian virtues, Faith, Hope and Love. These are represented as half figures of women. Faith lifts a chalice

with the Host in one hand, with the other laid on her breast to express perfect belief; Hope, with hands folded, looks upward with an expression of supreme confidence; and Love holds in her enfolding arms a group of children. Each is in a circle, at the two sides of which appear in each case delightful child angels. The picture remained in San Francesco until 1608, when it was presented to Cardinal Borghese, and since then it has remained in the Borghese collection at Rome. The pictures of the predella were left in their original position until 1798, when the French carried them off to Paris, to be returned to the Vatican in 1815. A number of old copies of the picture still exist in Italy.

One more large work was at least begun during the Florentine period, the great "Madonna del Baldacchino" which, according to Vasari, was begun by Raphael and left unfinished when he was called to Rome. It was intended as an altarpiece for the Dei family, and was finished after Raphael's death by one of his pupils, the painter Rosso. More than any other of Raphael's works it bears witness to the strong impression made upon him by Fra Bartolommeo, but though the monumental arrangement, the handling of the drapery, and the movements of the foreground saints



MADONNA DEL BALDACCHINO (about 1508)
Pitti Palace, Florence

remind us of Raphael's aged friend, the heads could have been done by none but Raphael, and the attendant angels, both those in foreground and those hovering in the air, are characteristically his. The central group of Mother and Child is full of grace and beauty. It is cast in the familiar mould of Raphael's Florentine Madonnas, even though translated from a beautiful landscape to the majestic surroundings of a gorgeous throne, raised on a plinth overshadowed by a draped canopy and set in a columned and vaulted alcove. The high position of the Virgin raises her in majesty above the level, physical and moral, of the four saints in the foreground. The beautiful boy angels at the bottom are worthy predecessors of the even more beautiful cherubs in the Foligno and Sistine Madonnas. The floating angels above the throne display a daring foreshortening and a graceful lightness showing a mastery of perspective far greater than Fra Bartolommeo ever attained, and go far to prove the truth of Vasari's statement that Raphael taught the monk the rules of perspective. After Raphael's death this picture came into the possession of his executor, Baldassare Turini, who had it framed in stone by Baccio d'Agnolo and placed it in the cathedral of Pescia. In 1697 it was sold to Ferdinand

de' Medici, who had it enlarged and completed by Cassana, and placed it in the Pitti Palace. A copy by Dandini hangs at Pescia.

In 1507 Raphael paid another visit to Urbino, because of legal troubles into which he had fallen without having knowingly done anything to bring them on. He had bought a house in Urbino from the heirs of Serafino Cervasi of Montefalcone for one hundred ducats, and they had given him a receipt in full, without obtaining consideration therefore, possibly in expectation of receiving payment in pictures. Shortly thereafter they permitted a marriage to take place between some of the members of the family, which was adjudged by the ecclesiastical court to be within the limits of consanguinity. As the Serafini had no money with which to pay the fine inflicted upon them, they went before a notary and swore that Raphael owed them this hundred ducats, whereupon he was summoned to Urbino to meet his creditors' liabilities. It was easy for him to adjust the transaction by agreeing to pay a portion of the fine to the Duke's treasurer at once, the remainder before Christmas of 1507, and giving the Serafini the small balance due them. The fact that he could make such easy terms for the payment of this fine shows that his relations with the

ducal court were intimate, and as no record of the payment of the money exists, it is very likely that he liquidated his obligation by furnishing paintings.

On the 21st of April, 1508, Raphael was still at Florence, a fact which is proved by a letter of his to his uncle, and, as may be seen from the perusal of it, he was hoping for an important commission which apparently he never obtained. What picture is here mentioned remains in doubt, but very likely it was the "Madonna del Baldacchino." Here is the letter: —

"To my dear uncle Simone di Batista di Ciarla da Urbino.

"Dear to me as a father.

"I have received the letter in which you announce the death of the duke; may God receive his soul with mercy. Truly, I was unable to read your letter without tears. But it is all over; nothing can be changed. This is why we must submit to the will of God.

"I have lately written to my uncle, the priest (Bartolommeo Santi), that he send me the small picture serving as a wing to the 'Madonna' of our lady prefect (Giovanna della Rovere). But he has not done so. I pray you then to remind him again, and that

he send it to me on the first opportunity, in order that I may content that lady; for you know that I may presently have need of her. I pray you also, very dear uncle, to tell the priest and Santa (Raphael's aunt, who lived with Bartolommeo, her brother, in the paternal house) that, if the Florentine Taddeo, of whom we have frequently spoken, come to Urbino they show him every possible honour, without sparing anything; you, also, for love of me, render him every service he may require, for truly I am under the greatest obligations to him.

“ I have not fixed any price for my picture, and shall not do so even when I am able; for it would be better for me that an estimation should be made of it. This is why I have not written the price, and shall not write it. I have no other news to give you, unless it be that he, who ordered the picture from me, has also promised me works, to the value of three hundred ducats, as well for here as for France. After the feasts, I will, perhaps, write you to what price the picture amounts, for which I have already made the cartoons, and after Easter we shall have completed it.

“ I should much like to obtain, from the lord prefect, a letter of recommendation to the gonfalonier of Florence. A few days since I

begged my uncle and Giacomo, of Rome, to procure it for me, for it might be very useful to me in procuring some work in a room, which depends on his highness. I beg you then to send me this letter, if possible; and I believe that if it is asked for in my name, he will certainly have it written; recommend me to him as his old servant and friend. Recommend me also to the master and to Ridolfo and to all others.

“ This XXI April, MDVIII.

“ Your RAPHAEL,
“ Painter at Florence.”

From a perusal of this epistle it is evident that his hopes were all for a continued existence under happy auspices in the beloved Tuscan capital, but fate had ordained it otherwise. The young painter's fame has spread throughout Italy, and at the age of twenty-five his career was known even in the Vatican at Rome. Here reigned the great Pope Julius II, busied with plans for extending his own fame and the majesty of the church by vast works in all the branches of art. Early in 1506 he had astonished his court by announcing his determination to demolish and rebuild the famous basilica of St. Peter's, where had been enthroned popes and emperors innumerable.

In April in that year, far beneath the foundations of the old cathedral, he blessed the first stone which was to form a portion of the foundation of one of the great pillars supporting the choir.

Thereafter the precincts of the Vatican were filled with labouring workmen, and an enormous sum was spent in laying the foundation of the great church. The Pope's plans enlarged; painters as well as architects were to be enlisted, the Sistine Chapel must be decorated with frescos, and the chambers of the Vatican with mural paintings. For the latter he summoned to Rome painter after painter from near and far in Italy; for the Sistine vaults he declared no man was great enough save Michelangelo. The latter demurred and it is characteristic of the greatness of the man that he insisted that only Raphael was great enough for this work. Bramante had in secret been urging that Raphael should perform this task and had told the Pope that Michelangelo could never be induced to come, but his pleas were in vain. The commission for the Sistine Chapel was given to Michelangelo and then in all likelihood Bramante urged Raphael's employment for the chambers of the Vatican. Whether this be fact or not, Raphael's fame reached the ears of Julius and he was invited

to Rome. Dropping everything, he complied and early in 1508 took up his residence in the Imperial City.

Up to this time he had apparently maintained a painting room at Perugia, superintended by Domenico Alfani, but it must have been given up after leaving Florence, for he never went back to Perugia. The only written reference to it is found on the back of a drawing made about this time, now at Lille, which says: "Menecho, remember to send me the love songs of Ricciardo, which describe the affliction that befel him on one of his journeys. Tell Cesarino to send me the sermon, and remember me to him; and, it occurs to me, press Madonna Atalanta to send me the money, and see that you get it in gold. Tell Cesarino to press her in this matter, and if I can do anything for you let me know." It has been supposed that these lines were penned in Rome, and that the sermon was to be used in the composition of the "Dispute of the Sacrament;" that the sonnets had some connection with the passion that entered his heart soon after he came to Rome; and that the financial appeal is indicative of his desire to close up his affairs in Umbria.

CHAPTER V

ROME UNDER JULIUS II

WHEN Raphael reached Rome he became a citizen of the most brilliant and beautiful city of the civilized world. Though the tooth of time and the ravages of man had sadly mutilated the Rome of the Cæsars, there still remained enormous structures which have not come down to our day, and beside and upon the ruins of the ancient city had been erected the greatest city of the Middle Ages. Outside the city the approaching traveller beheld the enormous arches of the aqueducts and the rows of tombs along the Appian Way. The city itself, like every town of the Middle Ages, was protected by enormous ramparts, only a fraction of which remain to-day. Within the walls the most varied impressions were to be had. Certain regions, such as the Aventine, were covered with grass-grown ruins, while the ancient forums were still resplendent with ruins and monuments, many of which have since disappeared. Here and there rose the

great fortified palaces of the Roman nobles, and everywhere were churches, convents and other religious foundations. The city had, of course, its mean quarters, as in the region of the ancient Campus Martius, but the prevailing impression was one of splendour, grandeur and piety.

Who shall measure the impression produced upon the still youthful mind of Raphael by these countless pagan monuments, Christian basilicas, homes of wealth and luxury, and the treasures of classic and medieval art contained in them? He plunged with enthusiasm into the study of architecture, sculpture, mosaic, and other classic remains, and his style speedily showed the influence of these new studies. Nowhere could he learn more than in the Vatican. This great collection of buildings contained in itself a complete history of Christian art. The greatest architects of Italy had been employed upon its fabric; every famous sculptor of the medieval period had left there tokens of his skill; paintings were numerously employed in its decoration, and there Raphael had opportunity to study the work of Fra Angelico, Melozzo da Forli, Mantegna, Pinturicchio, Perugino, Sodoma, Botticelli, Ghirlandajo, Signorelli, and innumerable others. The old basilica of St. Peter's had glowed like

a jewel case with stained glass, gold, enamels, marbles, and precious stones, but this wonderful monument, the admiration of all Christendom, had fallen before the ardour of Julius II and Bramante and was about to be replaced by a grander and still more noble structure.

Over this lordly city ruled the imperious genius who had summoned Raphael to Rome to complete the incomparable trio which shed the greatest lustre on his pontificate, Bramante, Michelangelo, and Raphael. Giuliano della Rovere was born to no station in life, and his chance for advancement came with the election of his uncle to the papacy as Sixtus IV. He became, through this event, archbishop of Avignon and cardinal of San Pietro-in-Vincoli. The young prelate was a man of quick passions, of hasty friendships, of impetuous energy. He was a great patron of art, catholic in his tastes, but capricious and undependable. Even before he became Pope he had been a patron of Pinturicchio and Perugino, among others, and was so fond of Perugino that he prevented him, almost by force, from carrying out his contract to decorate the cathedral of Orvieto. As a politician and a general he must be counted among the greatest of the popes. He skilfully divided the forces of the

enemies of the spirit, pitting them each against each, and making and breaking alliances without regard to aught but his own interests. Whatever he did was for the glory of the church or his own glory, which he esteemed the same, and the grander the project which was presented to him, the more it appealed to him. When Michelangelo had drawn the plans for his tomb and brought them to him with the apologetic remark that the construction would cost a hundred thousand ducats, he remarked: "So little? Rather make it two hundred thousand."

Though Julius was a patron of the arts, it must not be inferred that he was equally fond of all. For literature he cared nothing; the Vatican library did not increase during his reign, and to Michelangelo he said: "Why portray me with a book? I am no scholar; give me a sword!" The Italian goldsmiths were famous, but we find in the registers of his expenses few items for their work save the golden roses or the swords of honour which the pope was obliged annually to present to the most Christian princes. Yet even in this field he could on occasion be lavish; Michelangelo once heard him tell a jeweller that he would not spend anything on stones big or little, yet shortly thereafter he ordered a tiara

from Caradasso and an associate, for which he paid two hundred thousand ducats. But, in this instance, he carried out his principle of always employing the best artificers, for Caradasso ranked but little below Benvenuto Cellini. So also in embroidery, in tapestry, in stained glass, in wood carving, though his commands were but few, they were entrusted to the best workmen of the day.

It is perhaps understandable why Julius did not care to spend money on these minor arts, when we consider how he had set his mind upon an enterprise which strained even the enormous resources of the Roman church. All his other great tasks of building and decoration fall in magnitude far behind that of the reconstruction of St. Peter's, which he conceived in 1506. Before this time his ideas as to this work had undergone several changes. At first he had planned to build a tomb for himself on the great foundations laid by Nicholas V, but after Bramante and Giuliano da Sangallo had worked upon the project for some time, Julius accepted their plans for the rebuilding of the whole basilica of St. Peter's, a proposal which astonished and deeply moved all Europe. Early in January he wrote to the King of England to inform him of his intention and to ask for his assistance. On April

18th of the same year, after causing a mass to be celebrated at the high altar of the old cathedral, attended only by three acolytes he proceeded to the mouth of a yawning pit, sunk far beneath the floor of the church. In spite of the exertions of numerous workmen, it was almost impossible for the pumps to keep the water out of the excavation, but he courageously descended, attended by the architects, and laid the corner stone of one of the great pillars. Bronze and golden medals and various records were deposited under a marble block, which was duly blessed and later covered with other masonry. The great work went steadily on; thousands of workmen were employed, as was necessitated by the enormous extent of the proposed structure. Such work necessarily demanded enormous funds, and the messengers of the church streamed forth from Rome to every Christian country, seeking donations. In some quarters enthusiasm was high; a single Franciscan monk succeeded in begging twenty-seven thousand ducats, but this tremendous enterprise, though carried to success, did not, as Julius had fondly anticipated, become the crowning glory of the church, a link connecting Rome, through bonds of sacrifice, to all Christendom, but through the means adopted to pay for its con-

struction, became one of the causes of the Reformation.

Julius was not content with the rebuilding of St. Peter's. Michelangelo was entrusted with the painting of the roof of the Sistine Chapel, the sides of which were already covered with frescos by Perugino, Botticelli, Ghirlandajo, and others. These had been completed during the pontificate of Sixtus IV, and though they suffer by comparison with the masterpiece of Michelangelo above, many of them are well worthy of admiration. In addition to this great work, he had determined upon a comprehensive scheme of decoration of the second story apartments of the Vatican. Until November 26th, 1507, the anniversary of his coronation, he had occupied the Borgia apartments, which had been decorated with frescos by Pinturicchio during the reign of Alexander VI. On this day, as is recorded by the pontifical master of ceremonies, Paris di Grassis, he removed to the upper floor, telling his chamberlain that it was intolerable to gaze upon the painted face of his predecessor every hour of the day. For the work of decorating these apartments he summoned to Rome Sodoma, Perugino, Signorelli, Bramantino, Lorenzo Lotto, Peruzzi and others, so that the work was doubtless far advanced by

the early part of 1508, at which time the attention of Julius was drawn to Raphael. Exactly how this may have come about is not definitely known. Julius may have met Raphael at Urbino or he may have received a recommendation from some of the members of his family belonging to that court, but Vasari says, and it is generally accepted as a fact, that Raphael was recommended to Julius through the influence of Bramante, his compatriot. We have seen the letter of April, 1508, proving that Raphael was still at Florence. On the 5th of September of the same year he is supposed to have written the following letter to Francia from Rome, although it is but fair to say that doubts have been cast upon the genuineness of this epistle, the original of which has disappeared:

“DEAR MESSIRE FRANCESCO: — I have this instant received your portrait, which has just been handed over to me by Bazotto in a perfect state of preservation and quite faultless. Very many thanks: it is so well done and so lifelike that I seem to see you and to hear you speaking. I hope you will be indulgent with me, and forgive me for being so long in sending you mine, but my incessant and important engagements have prevented me as yet from

painting it myself as we agreed. You would not have been pleased, perhaps, if I had sent you one painted by one of my pupils and touched up by me: or should I not rather say, this would have been the proper course, for I should thus have confessed my inability to equal your work. I pray of you to be indulgent towards me, for you, too, know what it is to be deprived of one's liberty and to be dependent on others.

"In the meanwhile, I send you by this same messenger, who will be going back in six days, another drawing, viz. an 'Adoration of the Shepherds,' which, as you will see, differs very much from the picture I painted, and of which you were kind enough to speak in such favourable terms. You always praise my work, and I blush at the thought of it, just as I do at sending you this trifle. You will simply accept it as a proof of my devotion and affection; and if you will send me in return your 'History of Judith,' I will give it a place among the most precious objects in my possession.

"The Datarius is awaiting his small Madonna with as much impatience as Cardinal Riario is expecting his large one, and this you will learn from Bazotto. I, too, shall contemplate the pictures with the sympathy and sat-

isfaction which I derive from all your works, for I know none more beautiful, more saintly, or better executed. In the meanwhile be of good cheer, do not fail in your customary prudence, and rest assured that I feel your sorrows as if they were my own. Love me as I love you — with all my heart.

“Rome, September 5th, 1508.

“Always and altogether at your service,

“Your RAPHAEL SANZIO.”

It was probably after receiving this letter and the accompanying picture that Francia wrote a beautiful sonnet, of which we append the original and a translation by F. E. Bunnett:

“All’ eccellente pittore Raphaello Sanzio, Zeusi del nostro secolo, da me Francesco Raibolini, detto il Francia.

“Non son Zeusi ne Apelle, e non son tale

Chi di tanti tal nome a me convegna,

Ne mio talento, ne vertude è gegna

Haver da un Raffael lode immortale.

Tu sol, cui fece il ciel dono fatale

Che ogn’ altro eccede, e fora ogn’ altro regna,

L’ eccellente artificio a noi insegna

Con cui sei reso ad ogn’ antico uguale.

Fortunato garzon, che nei primi anni

Tant oltrepassi, e che sarà poi quando

In più provecta etade opre migliori?

Vinta sarà natura; e da tuoi inganni
Resa eloquente dirà te lodando
Che tu solo il pictor sei da' pictorî."

"To the excellent painter Raphael Santi, the Zeuxis of our age, from me, Francesco Raibolini, surnamed Francia.

"Nor Zeuxis' nor Apelles' art is mine,
That such high honours I should dare to claim;
Nor am I worthy of the immortal fame
A Raphael to my talent would assign.
Such gifts has Providence on thee alone
Bestowed, choice gifts of long-enduring fame;
Thou teachest men true art, making thy name
Equal with ancient painters in renown.
Oh happy youth! if thou dost so excel
When but a few short summers thou hast known,
What wilt thou be when ripe with studious years?
Then will thy magic hand its victories tell,
And vanquished nature ring thy praise alone,
That amid painters thou hast no compeers."

Before considering the work which Raphael started to perform for Pope Julius, let us briefly pass in review the notables who were at that time resident in Rome and with whom Raphael was more or less familiar, many of them being already numbered among the list of his acquaintances and friends.

First in importance, of course, were the members of the sacred college, which then comprised but thirty cardinals, the number having

been raised to forty-eight in the reign of Leo X. Many of these were celebrated for their lavish expenditures for various purposes, including in many cases the patronage of art. Among those who became patrons of Raphael we may mention the dean of the college, Domenico Raffaello Riario, whose fortune was so large that his escort when he appeared in public consisted of four hundred men, and who later utilized his fortune by building the great palace of the chancellery. He purchased from Raphael the "Madonna of Loretto" and also acquired many other paintings. Grimani, Cardinal from Venice, was also an art lover, having a very large collection of paintings, including many German and Flemish works. His collection also contained a Raphael, as he bought back from Holland one of the cartoons for the Sistine tapestry, the "Conversion of St. Paul," this being the only one which was ever returned to Italy. Giovanni de' Medici, later Leo X, was not at this period of his career a patron of painters, but we shall later have occasion to speak of his tastes more fully.

Even more than the members of the college of cardinals did the members of the curia add to the attractiveness and brilliancy of Roman society. Included in this group of minor officers of the church were Raphael's intimate

friends, Bibiena, Bembo, Inghirami, Goritz, and Baldassare Turini. Among others of more or less fame was the famous diarist Hans Burckhardt of Strassburg, master of the ceremonies of Alexander VI, who daily wrote down with equal care the trivialities of papal etiquette and his master's innumerable crimes. Raphael had met Bembo at Urbino, where he was living at the time of Raphael's coming to Rome, but it was not until later that the poet settled in the Eternal City. He was a writer of considerable merit, and a most enthusiastic collector of antiques and paintings, among which were at least two pictures by Raphael. One of the latter's most intimate friends, after his death he drew up his epitaph. He had great influence with Bibiena, and succeeded with the latter's help in securing Raphael many commissions.

Bibienna's real name was Bernardino Dovizio, and Raphael made his acquaintance also at Urbino, where he went into exile after the downfall of the Medici. Though he had been secretary of Lorenzo the Magnificent, his diplomatic skill rendered him useful to Julius II, and after the death of the latter he employed his talent so well in the conclave that it was largely through him that Leo X became pope. In his gratitude the latter presented him with

various lucrative offices and within six months had appointed him a cardinal. Though never a rich man, he employed Raphael to decorate his bath-room with frescos and to paint a portrait of Joanna of Aragon for the queen of France. In his fondness for Raphael he had arranged a marriage, though rather against the latter's inclination, between Raphael and his niece Maria, but the young lady's premature death prevented its consummation.

Others of Raphael's friends, among this group of ecclesiastics, were Lodovico of Canossa, for whom Raphael painted the "Madonna of the Pearl," Tommaso Inghirami, the most fashionable preacher in Rome in the time of Julius II, but who would now be forgotten had Raphael not painted his portrait; Sigismund Conti, the private secretary of Julius, for whom was painted the "Madonna of Foligno," and Baldassare Turini, who purchased from Raphael's heirs the "Madonna del Baldacchino."

Among Raphael's lay patrons were several of considerable repute as scholars, and also some whose chief claim to fame lay in their wealth. In the first class we may mention Goritz of Luxemburg, for whom was painted the fresco of the prophet Isaiah in the church of St. Augustine, and Count Baldassare Cas-

tiglione, another of Raphael's friends of Urbino. He was one of the greatest poets of his age, a diplomat, a soldier and a good art critic. Though his income was modest, he managed to acquire an interesting collection of both ancient and modern art works, thanks to his friendship with painters and sculptors. Raphael painted two portraits of him and presented him with some of his sketches.

The famous poet Ariosto was twice sent by the Duke of Ferrara as an ambassador to Rome and became very friendly with Raphael. Raphael is said to have written a letter, now unfortunately lost, to him, asking his advice as to what personages he should introduce into the fresco of the "Dispute of the Sacrament," and the poet also wrote a beautiful Latin epitaph on Raphael after his untimely death.

We may also number among Raphael's intimates a number of nobles, mostly allied to the dynasty of Urbino, including Francesco Maria della Rovere, Guidobaldo's successor, his mother, the Duchess Giovanna, whose letter written in 1504 we have already seen, Isabella d'Este, Marchioness of Mantua, who commissioned Raphael to paint portraits of herself and her son Frederick which were never finished, and Duke Alfonso of Ferrara, the husband of Lucrezia Borgia.

Of great importance in Raphael's career was his friendship with two bankers, Agostino Chigi and Bindo Altoviti. The former was the wealthiest man in Italy, and told Leo X that he had absolutely no idea of the extent of his own fortune owing to his numerous interests, and that the most he could say was that he had a hundred warehouses in Europe and the Orient, a hundred ships at sea, and twenty thousand persons in his employment. His income was estimated at more than seventy thousand florins. He built for himself a magnificent palace in Rome, which Julius visited during its erection. He remarked during his inspection that he doubted that it would be as sumptuous as the palace then being built by the Riarios. Chigi was so incensed by this remark that he retorted that he would make his stables finer than the Riarios' palace, and he did. For him Raphael painted some of his most famous frescos, as will later appear. Bindo Altoviti was not the rival of Chigi, either in wealth or in luxury of taste, but he was a devoted patron of art and Raphael painted for him his portrait now in the Old Pinakothek at Munich and the "Madonna dell' Impannata."

Finally we must mention among Raphael's contemporaries those of artistic attainments,

and foremost among these was a compatriot of Raphael's, the famous architect Bramante. His earliest sphere of work was Lombardy, but in the papacy of Alexander VI he settled in Rome and quickly made himself famous. Julius was quick to recognize his merits and entrusted him with the enormous task of rebuilding St. Peter's. This alone would have been more than enough to occupy the energies of an ordinary man, but he found it easy in addition to superintend all of the building works of the Vatican, as well as those of a magnificent palace for himself, which later became Raphael's home. Like many another genius of the time he did not confine his attentions to one sphere of achievement, but was equally successful in architecture, in fortification, in painting and in engraving, and he even tried his hand at poetry with considerable success. He was a faithful friend to Raphael and not only taught him architecture but designed for him the beautiful portico of the "School of Athens," one of the noblest architectural compositions ever made. In return Raphael introduced his portrait into this picture and also into the "Dispute of the Sacrament." Bramante had a host of pupils whose names would hardly be worth introducing here, even though their fame was great.

Of Roman painters there were practically none, but Julius brought to the Eternal City for the decoration of his palace most of the painters of the epoch; of all the great names practically the only one we miss is that of Leonardo da Vinci. We have already named many of those employed in this work, which employed Sodoma, Perugino, Pinturicchio, Signorelli, Bramantino, Lorenzo Lotto, Lo Spagna, Jan Ruysch, and greatest of all Michelangelo, Raphael's greatest rival, but not, as has often been stated, his bitter enemy. Little personal love existed between them, but they came little into contact, and there is no doubt that each recognized and respected the other's merits. We shall have occasion later to see that generous good feeling could exist between them.

Such was the character of the city and the society in which was to be passed the rest of Raphael's life. Though but twenty-five years of age when he took his place among these masters of their time, he was in mind and spirit the peer of any, and his ability and personal qualities soon won for him the recognition of that genius which placed him among the ranks of the greatest men of all times and marked him as the foremost painter of the Renaissance.

CHAPTER VI

THE CAMERA DELLA SEGNATURA

IT was in the fall of 1508 that Raphael began his work for Pope Julius II, and he was at first employed as one of several painters to whom was assigned the task of completing the decoration of the four second story apartments known as the Stanze. It has often been stated that these rooms were newly built for Julius, but Müntz discovered in the keystone of one of the arches the arms of Nicholas V, which seem to have been unnoticed by previous writers because he had adopted as his bearings the crossed keys of the church. Nicholas had employed various famous artists, but the decorations were by no means complete, and Julius sent for some of the best painters of the day to assist in carrying out his project. Even after Raphael's advent he was not the only painter at work and we know that on the 13th of October, 1508, Sodoma received fifty ducats on account, for which Sigismondo Chigi guaranteed that "Sodoma should paint as much as

might afterwards be valued at the price of fifty ducats, in the upper chambers of the Vatican."

The papal registers, while they contain many entries as to the names of the painters and the amounts which they received, do not specify where the work was done save that it was in the second story, but we are sure both from Vasari's testimony and the evidence of style that Sodoma worked in the Camera della Segnatura, the place where Raphael first began to paint at Rome. Sodoma had decorated the ceiling, but his work was apparently not to the satisfaction of the Pope, and Raphael was ordered to clear it all away and to begin anew. Passavant is of the opinion that Raphael painted the "Dispute of the Sacrament" before beginning on the ceiling decoration, and that it was the success of this which led the Pope to decide that his work should replace all that had previously been done in the entire suite.

This conclusion is hardly tenable, when we take into consideration the character of the work, for the style of the great wall painting is surer than that of the ceiling ornament, which was probably done before any of the wall frescos. It is possible that Raphael, before beginning painting, prepared his sketches for

the "Dispute of the Sacrament" and that the inspection of these, together with recognition of the inferior character of Sodoma's work, induced Julius to change his plans and give Raphael the commission for the entire decoration of the room. Raphael, however, did not consent to completely obliterate his predecessor's designs, and while he cleared out the larger spaces of the roof, the framework and minor decorations of Sodoma were left. When Raphael's work began to take shape upon the walls, the Pope saw that he had made no mistake, so that eventually all of the other artists employed in the Stanze were dismissed and Raphael received a commission to decorate the whole series of rooms, a task which occupied him for the remainder of his life and which had to be completed by his pupils after his death.

It would be interesting to know what Raphael received for this enormous work. His payment for the Stanza dell' Incendio was twelve hundred ducats, so that in all probability he received no more and perhaps less for the first one. Julius certainly was not over-lavish in his payment, for Ghirlandajo had received twelve hundred ducats for his frescos in Santa Maria Novella in Florence from a private individual, Pinturicchio had received a thousand ducats for his panels in the cathedral

library at Siena, and Filippino Lippi had been paid two thousand ducats, besides the cost of ultramarine and the wages of his assistants, for paintings in Cardinal Caraffa's chapel in one of the Roman churches. None of these tasks equalled in magnitude or time required the decoration of a single one of the Stanze. Another comparison, not much to the credit of Julius, is that Michelangelo received but three thousand ducats for painting the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel, while the city of Florence had promised him the same sum for the painting of "The Battle of Pisa," but while Michelangelo considered the Florentine work half done when the cartoon was delivered, the actual painting of the Sistine vault required four years of unremitting labour. The artists who worked for the Pope, however, were likely to receive appointments which increased their income. Michelangelo was granted the tolls imposed on the navigation of the Po. We do not know, however, that Raphael received such favours, and from his painting alone at this rate he would scarcely have amassed a fortune.

When entering from the Loggie, the Camera della Segnatura is the third of the four rooms in the series and received its name from the fact that the popes usually employed it as a workroom where they signed the documents

prepared by their secretaries. In all of these rooms but one the arrangement of doors and windows is such that the task of the decorator was a very difficult one. Windows occur on two sides in three of the rooms, and besides these the doors of entrance and exit have to be reckoned with.

From the harmonious coördination of parts it is apparent that Raphael had worked out carefully the entire plan of decoration of his first room before pencil was put to paper. Passavant called this room the "Chamber of Faculties" on the ground that here "Raphael had represented in Theology, Philosophy, Poetry, and Jurisprudence the sum of the knowledge which brings man nearer to Divine truth." Müntz adds "that the artist endeavoured also to express the fresh ideal aimed at by the Renaissance, to give a tangible shape to the aspirations of the great epoch of which he was the most gifted interpreter. Upon the one hand was the glorification of Religion and upon the other that of Philosophy, or of science untrammelled by dogma. Then came the Parnassus, or Poetry, and lastly the consecration of Civil Law by Justinian and of Canon Law by Gregory IX. The theology was no longer dominant as in the Middle Ages, and religion, science, jurisprudence, letters and arts

developed freely, side by side, completing one another and making up a civilization worthy to rival that of the ancients."

Having thus decided upon the general elements of his composition, the spaces were allotted as follows. Upon the two large walls were placed "The Dispute of the Sacrament" and "The School of Athens." Over the window looking on the courtyard was represented "Parnassus," and in the spaces at either side "Alexander placing Homer's Poems in the Tomb of Achilles," and "Augustus Preventing the Burning of the *Æneid*," while the opposite end shows above the window the virtues inseparable from justice, "Force, Prudence and Moderation," below which are two historical subjects of "Justinian Issuing the *Pandects*" and "Gregory IX Promulgating the *Decretals*." The ceiling was ornamented with allegorical medallions serving as emblems of the great paintings below and each of the four corners has a square painting similarly representative, the subjects being respectively "Theology," "Philosophy," "Poetry," and "Justice," and "The Fall of Man," "Astronomy," "Apollo and Marsyas," and "The Judgment of Solomon."

We do not know who was the author of this great scheme. Passavant believes that Ra-

phael alone worked out the whole conception. He says: "In our day Raphael has been denied the credit of the plan for these pictures, which has been ascribed either to the Pope or to some erudite member of his court. But a conception so spiritual in all its details could hardly have proceeded from the brain of Julius II, who was above all things of a practical turn of mind. We are quite ready to admit that Raphael, as indeed may be inferred from his letter to Ariosto, had recourse to certain scholars for aid as to his personages and details, but it is none the less true that the general invention belongs to him. At the beginning of his stay at Rome the scholars with whom he was acquainted were not then residing there, for Castiglione did not come until rather later, Pietro Bembo not till April, 1510, and then for a very short time, while Bernardo Divizio da Bibiena was still at the court of Urbino." Nevertheless it is hardly to be conceived that Raphael did not have assistance in the elaboration of this plan, perhaps the noblest scheme of decoration ever conceived. If Raphael's learned friends were not in Rome it would be easy for him to hear from them by letter and it is entirely probable that the pope himself or some of his advisers laid down the general lines of the composition.

In our survey of the decoration we will begin with the ceiling. The central octagon and eight small pictures below it with surrounding ornaments are remnants of Sodoma's work. The octagon is supposed to represent the sky and is occupied by children supporting the arms of the Pope. The eight small pictures represent an emperor addressing his troops, cavalry charging, a general crowned by victory, and sacrificing priests, painted in monochrome in imitation of reliefs and also four mythological subjects in colour on a gold ground.

Between the octagon and the tops of the wall arches are the four circles and in the triangular spaces between the arches the four square pictures, both surrounded with decorative borders. It is generally believed that the latter were executed first but for the sake of a more logical development we will begin with the allegories. These are four magnificent female figures seated on clouds, and each accompanied by cherubs bearing an inscription. They blaze in full colour from a background of gold mosaic. They represent an entirely new development of Raphael's art, having nothing in common with his Madonnas, either in feeling or in treatment. Though full of grace and beauty, though imbued with as

thoughtful earnestness as his Madonnas, they are cast in classic moulds and are much less near akin to everyday humanity. "Theology" is depicted as a gracious girl holding a book on one knee while with the other hand she points down to the vision of the heavens on the wall beneath her. On each side two charming boys dance on the clouds, bearing tablets with the words "Notitia divinarum rerum," "The knowledge of divine things." Her auburn hair is crowned with leaves, her veil floats in the wind, and in features and drapery she carries us back to the Florentine days. The beautiful colours have faded but the pensive face of this charming virgin still entralls the spectator.

Next her is "Poetry," crowned with laurel, her lyre supported by a ribbon embroidered with stars, and her expanded wings typifying the flights of fancy proclaimed by the tablets of her attendant winged genii in the words of Virgil, "Numine afflatur," signifying her divine inspiration. The whole picture is cast in the antique mould and here all reminiscence of Perugino is cast away.

"Justice" and "Philosophy" are no less beautiful in conception. The former is a magnificent composition in which the goddess with uplifted sword and balanced scales is sur-



THEOLOGY (1508-1511)
Stanze of the Vatican, Rome

rounded by four children bearing the tablets with the inscription "Jus. suu. unicuique tribut," implying the even distribution of justice to all. The picture fills its circle as well as any composition ever constructed by Raphael. Finally "Philosophy," holding two great books and seated in a chair adorned with representations of the Ephesian Diana is proclaimed by her two attendant boys as "Causarum cognitio," "The Knowledge of Origins."

Of the four square pictures in the corners perhaps the first and certainly the least successful is "Astronomy," a female figure leaning over a crystal ball, representing the celestial sphere, dotted with stars, within which swims the earth. Beside her two boys, floating on clouds, carry books, and the colours from gold at the top through blue, green and brown suggest the four elements, fire, air, water, earth. "Apollo and Marsyas" was a subject in which reminiscences of the antique were unavoidable, and the figure of Marsyas harks back to the classic representations of which so many are in existence. The unfortunate satyr is strained to a tree with one shepherd beginning to flay him at the command of the god, expressed by his raised hand, while another is crowning Apollo with laurel.

"The Fall of Man," though biblical in sub-

ject, is classical enough in treatment. The beautiful figure of Eve, holding with one hand to the tree around which is coiled the serpent with the woman's head, and extending her other with a fig to Adam, is a Venus in beauty of form and attitude. Adam, seated on a rock at the other side, is modelled, as is shown by a series of six sketches at the Louvre, partly from life and partly from an antique torso.

"The Judgment of Solomon" is a masterly composition, admirably filling the space. The aged king sits on his throne with one hand raised, regarding the executioner standing astride the dead babe and holding the living one by the feet while raising his sword to divide it. The true mother rushes forward to prevent the stroke while the false one, kneeling beside the throne, points with both hands to the corpse.

Of the side walls of the chamber the one which was first accomplished and which was indeed of paramount importance in the eyes of Julius was that relating to Theology, which has been always known under the title "The Dispute of the Sacrament," from the Italian word *disputa*, meaning a discussion. It is probable, however, that the debate represented in the lower part of the picture is insignificant in the plan, for the intention of Raphael was



THE JUDGMENT OF SOLOMON (1508-1511)
Stanze of the Vatican, Rome

to represent the whole constitution and ultimate triumph of the Christian religion, with its various grades of personages from Godhead through the elect to its earthly members. His great difficulty was to decide how to group these numerous personages, and the amount of work and care which he put into it is shown by the fact that at least thirty preliminary studies were made for it.

In the first place, being painted at the order of Julius II, it was necessary to call to mind the greatest achievement of his reign, the rebuilding of St. Peter's, and hence the scene of the painting is laid within the walls of an unfinished building, the highest courses of which rise but little above the heads of the participants. In the centre rises an altar carrying the host, symbolical of that stone which Julius had sealed into the foundations of the new basilica. The background shows workmen engaged in the operations of building. It is probable that the walls drawn by Raphael represent the new tribune which had been started by Nicholas V, whose marble blocks Æneas Sylvius had compared to the ruins of gigantic walls. The sketches, even more clearly than the finished picture, show the building of the church. The clearest in this respect is one in the collection at Windsor

Castle, which shows half of one of the earliest designs. Here we have in the lowest tier a group of prelates placed in a courtyard bounded by an unfinished gateway and portico. Behind these pillars stands an allegorical figure pointing up to heaven, where we see, not one row of saints, as in the finished picture, but two, the higher including the Virgin bending before the Redeemer, while angels flit across the sky. The Oxford drawing is similar, but varies somewhat in detail. The earlier sketches show that Raphael in his first conception was greatly influenced by Leonardo da Vinci and Fra Bartolommeo, but these resemblances disappeared as sketch succeeded sketch, and the composition became more and more truly indicative of Raphael's own powers.

In the later sketches he abandoned his original plan, simplifying the arrangement of the heavens and working his foreground over and over to get his figures arranged in the most satisfactory manner. A sketch in the Staedel Museum at Frankfort shows more of the final arrangement, though only two seated figures in it actually survived as the St. Gregory and St. Jerome of the fresco. It has, however, as Crowe and Cavalcaselle mention, a figure on the left side which is repeated in the Louvre drawing for Adam in the "Temptation,"

showing us that the composition of the "Dispute" was well advanced before the ceiling frescos were completed. It is unnecessary to mention all the drawings; but they exhibit progression, step by step, until we find one in Vienna which is almost identical with the final fresco. As a result of all these changes and struggles to produce the final effect, it is not remarkable if the composition seems in parts a trifle strained, a result legitimately to be expected when we consider that this enormous painting was Raphael's first considerable attempt at fresco, for the comparatively small wall painting at San Severo is far beneath the present work in point of size and difficulty.

The reader must remember that a fresco painting has to be completely planned out and perfected in the artist's mind to the most minute details, before the work is commenced, and that no after-additions of any importance are permissible when the picture is once on the wall. The paints are applied to the newly plastered surface, and only as much mortar may be mixed and put in place as the artist can work over within a few hours. Retouching after the plaster has set is not satisfactory and cannot be attempted over any large space. We should, therefore, rather wonder that Raphael succeeded so well in this enor-

mous painting, than criticise any slight stiffness due to his difficulties in the new method of work.

A close inspection will reveal the stages of his advance, from the archaic symmetry of the upper portion to the naturalistic grouping in the foreground. His progress is startling, as viewed within the confines of this single composition, beginning with a style no more advanced than that of the fresco of San Severo in the archaic representation of the Eternal at the top, and leading to the strongly marked results of his classical studies shown in the angels and the foreground figures.

The painting is divided into four zones. At the top God the Father, a sublime and solemn figure, raises his right hand in blessing, while supporting a globe in the other; his head is surrounded by a diamond-shaped halo and around him shines the ineffable glory of the heavens, transpierced by shining rays of light, and filled with innumerable cherubim and seraphim.

Below is the figure of the Redeemer, seated upon clouds before a disc of golden rays which is fringed with a semicircle of cherubs' heads. The white shroud with which he is enveloped has fallen away to the waist, exposing the lance wound, and he raises both hands to show the



THE DISPUTE OF THE SACRAMENT (1508-1511)
Stanza of the Vatican, Rome

stigmata. Earnest of face, he is adored by the Virgin, bending forward on the right, and St. John the Baptist, with a cross of reeds, who points to him on the left. At his feet is the dove, on each side of which four winged boys carry the open gospels in front of a bank of clouds. This is supported by cherubim and on it, seated in a semicircle, are twelve saints, six on each side of the central group. The two figures at the extremes of the row are St. Peter and St. Paul, and the succeeding pairs toward the centre are Adam and Abraham, John the Evangelist and James the Greater, Moses and David, Lawrence and Stephen, and two doubtful figures, possibly Jeremiah and either St. George, patron saint of Liguria, the native country of Julius II, or Judas Maccabeus.

This beautiful semicircle typifies the church, ancient and modern, in all its relations to mankind, showing patriarchs, apostles, prophets, confessors, the church of worship and the church militant. The ancient order alternates with the new, and many of the forms are among the grandest symbolic representations of art. Especially characteristic is Adam, disdaining to clothe his athletic form and sitting in a free and unconstrained attitude with crossed legs, forming, as Müntz says, "the most striking and poetical image ever traced

of primitive man." All this upper part of the picture resembles in a general way earlier compositions of the hierarchy of heaven and offers nothing epoch-making in conception, composition or method of execution, being painted with the same loving attention to minute details and lavish use of gold and colour which had always belonged to symbolical religious paintings.

The lower part of the fresco, the great group of theologians discussing, discerning, describing the heavenly order, has no prototype, and is an arrangement of unconstrained and glorious beauty. The assemblage represents rather the force of written authority than the doers of deeds, for miracle workers and martyrs are almost lacking. The host on the altar is the centre of the composition. Around it are seated the four great doctors of the church. To the left is St. Gregory the Great in pontifical attire looking toward heaven, at his feet his book on Job, the "*Liber Morali-um*," and next him is St. Jerome meditating on the scriptures, with his faithful lion beside him. Opposite are St. Ambrose with hands and eyes raised toward heaven and St. Augustine, his convert, dictating to a young man, while his book, "*The City of God*," lies before him. The figures behind this group are not

certainly known, being perhaps St. Bernard, the last of the fathers of the church, and Petrus Lombardus, the "Master of the Sentences," founder of scholastic theology and the first writer on the sacraments.

Among the other figures who either are recognizable from their names painted in their halos or are so well known by numerous portraits that designation is unnecessary, are Dons Scotus and St. Thomas Aquinas, Pope Anacletus, St. Bonaventura reading a book, and Pope Innocent III. Behind him stand Dante and Savonarola, the latter's introduction being especially noteworthy, for he was executed as a heretic under Alexander VI, yet is here introduced among the greatest theologians of the church. In the immediate foreground on the right is a Christian philosopher pointing out St. Augustine's disciple as an example to a young pagan leaning over the balustrade. On the left side near the altar we see a group of prelates, a philosopher who has dropped his book and turns toward the altar, the laity represented by a number of kneeling figures, the schismatics, a number of clergymen who pay no attention to the altar, but dispute among themselves, and in the nearest foreground heresy, personified by Bramante reading in a book and disputing with a beauti-

ful young man who points to the altar. Finally at the extreme left we find a portrait of the holiest of painters, Fra Angelico.

Thus in this life-like assemblage we see depicted every aspect and phase of religious feeling, the constitution of the church, the highest expression of Christian belief ever recorded in a painting, and a summary of Rome's existence from the era of the catacombs to that of the Renaissance. This, combined with the excellent balance, the masterly composition, and the vigour and spirit of the figures, have made it the most famous and best known of all the frescos.

Opposite "The Dispute of the Sacrament" is "The School of Athens," well characterized by Crowe and Cavalcaselle, who say it is "simply the finest, best balanced, and most perfect arrangement of figures that was ever put together by the genius of the Italian revival, and the scene in which the action is set is the most splendid display of monumental architecture that was ever made in the 16th century." In this fresco the glorification of knowledge forms a fitting pendant to the survey of religion opposite. As, on the other wall, the great Christians are grouped about the doctors of the church, here the ancient Grecian philosophers are gathered about Plato



THE SCHOOL OF ATHENS (1508-1511)
Stanz: of the Vatican, Rome

and Aristotle, those two great minds, whose writings in the Middle Ages were of almost equal authority with those of the fathers of the church. The arrangement is not dissimilar; in both cases in the foreground we have receding planes of beautiful architecture, but in "The School of Athens" the supernatural element is missing and we have as a background a glorious temple, surmounted by a lofty dome which is approached by a vaulted aisle on the piers of which are niches filled with statues. This composition was drawn for Raphael by Bramante, and in return for this help we see the great architect expounding the theme of the painting in the left hand corner of the "Disputa" and drawing figures for the mathematicians in "The School of Athens."

On account of the paucity of identifiable ancient portraits it is not to be expected that we can recognize personages so clearly in this picture as in the last. Passavant believes that, thanks to the chronological arrangement, he has been able to identify most of them, and later critics accept his names with little change. The variations are so insignificant that I can do no better than to transcribe his description in full:

"In the group to the left we recognize four

founders of philosophic schools, as they are each placed in an isolated position in sign of independence. The oldest is Pythagoras of Samos, who, five hundred and fifty years before our era, founded at Crotona in Italy a school of philosophy, the aim of which was intellectual, religious and moral culture. He also founded a school of mathematics, and, attributing to figures the principle of things, he grasped the science of arithmetic in its highest signification. Seated quite in the foreground, in the midst of his pupils, he is writing in a book, in which he seems to be inscribing his discoveries on the harmonious relations of music; for before him a young man, probably his son Telanges, is holding a tablet, on which are noted the tones, octaves, fifths, fourths, with the words Diapason, Diapenta, and Diatessaron.

“Among his pupils grouped around him, the bald and bearded man is, it is believed, Archytas; he interpreted the doctrine of contrasts which has caused the invention of the doctrine of categories to be ascribed to him. A little behind is Theano, the wife of Pythagoras; she is in profile, and is raising two fingers of her hand, apparently to signify the double consonants that Pythagoras discovered. An Arab, believed to be Averrhoes, with a

turban on, is leaning with curiosity over the books of Pythagoras; an ingenious myth of the initiation of the Arabs into Greek philosophy, or perhaps, of the improvements introduced by them into the science of numbers. On the other side of the picture the figure of Zoroaster indicates with equal subtlety, that the Greek philosophy had its origin in the east, as was then generally believed.

“ At the extremity of the group to the right, in contrast with the ideal philosophy of the great man of Samos, the profound Heraclitus of Ephesus, who lived five hundred years B. C., represents the natural philosophy of the Ionic school; as the obscurity of his principles caused him to be surnamed the obscure, he is clothed in dark gray. Seated near a pedestal, he is writing his speculative theories on the substance of things, and on the nature and life of man, theories which were little understood by his contemporaries, but which were at a later time grasped by more clear-sighted minds, such as Plato, Aristotle, and the stoics. Between Heraclitus and Pythagoras, towards whom he is turning, the philosopher standing arguing on a book, is Anaxagoras, the friend of Pericles. From his education he belongs to the Ionic school; but, as he was the first to place the creative spirit of the world above

matter, he forms the link between the school of ethics and the school of Socrates. This is why he is placed immediately below the wise Athenian. Behind him is standing a handsome young man, in whom Raphael has perpetuated the features of his prince, Francesco Maria della Rovere, Duke of Urbino, at that time at Rome. Vasari also notes that Raphael granted a similar distinction to the "prodigal son," Frederick II, Duke of Mantua, only ten years of age, who was also at Rome at this time. We believe that we may recognize the young Frederick in the child who is facing the spectator a little to the left behind the Arab.

"More to the left, on the same level, opposite the dark Heraclitus, is Democritus of Abdera, the learned naturalist, so mistaken by his fellow citizens, the joyous traveller who saw only folly and not wickedness in the ill deeds of men, leaning against a column and turning over the pages of a book. His studies related especially to five sciences, logic, physics, ethics, mathematics, and the arts of the Muses. He is crowned with ivy, to remind us, probably, that science did not prevent him from enjoying the pleasures of life; and that his practical principle was to seek for happiness in the tranquillity of the soul. The young

man who is placing his hands on the shoulders of Democritus is certainly one of his numerous disciples, — possibly Nausiphanes of Teios, subsequently the master of Epicurus. The old man presenting a child to Democritus seems to be an allusion to the custom of the Athenians of asking the opinions of the philosophers on the dispositions of their children.

“ On the upper step we see, in the first place, some representatives of the sophists, against whom Socrates struggled victoriously with his dialectic ethics. The man half-clothed hastening from the left with writings in his hands is Diagoras of Melos, the freedman, a disciple of Democritus. He is ranked among the sophists, and his declared atheism forced him to leave Athens. The two other sophists beside him are Gorgias of Leontini, a pupil of Empedocles, and Crites of Athens, who represented religion as derived from politics, and who was the constant adversary of Socrates.

“ But we now come to Socrates himself (born about 470 B. C.) one of the purest and most venerable men of antiquity. His clear common sense, irony and luminous wisdom rendered full justice to this crowd of unbelieving talkers. His precepts, directed towards practical and religious life, may be summed up in these words: ‘ Religion consists in

honouring God, both by its reason and its invisible activity; it is on this account that it is immortal.' Socrates preached these doctrines publicly, and introduced philosophy into private life; or, as Cicero says, 'He caused it to descend from heaven into the abode of men.' Thus we see him here teaching wisdom in the midst of a group of attentive auditors.

"Opposite to him, in complete armour, is Alcibiades, whose life he saved. Like many other amiable and ductile natures, Alcibiades was not irreproachable in his morals; but his affection for Socrates proved that he was not destitute of noble sentiments. Near him is one of the artisans with whom Socrates loved to converse, because their mind was not spoiled by false principles. A little further back is the old Aristippus, brought up at Cyrene in sensual pleasures. The teaching of Socrates ennobled, however, this inclination for pleasure, and Aristippus became the founder of the school of Cyrene. According to him the destiny of man is to enjoy, preserving, however, an empire over himself and liberty of mind. His philosophy was the art of enjoying life. By his side, and the nearest to Socrates, a young man, completely absorbed in his master's words, and leaning his elbow on the stylobate, is Xenophon of Athens. This great his-

torian, the most intimate disciple of Socrates, has left us a faithful description of him in his writings.

“To this group also belongs a man of low condition, Eschines, the poor sausage-seller. Always a fervent admirer of Socrates, he became subsequently one of the most celebrated orators of Greece. Extending his right arm towards the sophists, he seems, by an imperative gesture, to warn them off, as if he had already guessed that the impious men would dare to accuse Socrates of impiety, and that their hatred would only be satisfied when the old man, seventy years of age, whom the Pythian oracle had named the wisest of men, had drained the poisoned cup. Further on, and more in the background, is Euclid of Megara, another of Socrates’ admirers. He was the chief exponent of the dialectic philosophy, based on the principal maxim of the eclectic school, ‘All is but One;’ and, inspired with the Socratic doctrine, he called that ‘One’ not only the True, but also the Good.

“We have now come to the most illustrious of the disciples of Socrates, Plato, who with Aristotle, occupies the centre of the assembly. Their systems, which in many important particulars were opposed to each other, excited during the middle ages, and especially at the

time of Raphael, the most eager conflicts between theologians and philosophers. Plato (born 430 B. C.), descended from Solon, was one of the noblest and most gifted men that have ever lived. His genius and virtue render him worthy of standing by the side of his master Socrates. His travels, studies and contemplations had raised his thoughts to heights undreamed of before. From this intellectual summit he collects into a whole the truths scattered throughout the various theories of his time. His profound intuition revealed to him that a superior God had formed subjects from ideas; that the human soul, of celestial origin, had fallen through her own fault in terrestrial life, but that she would obtain redemption. It may be said that Plato thus obtained a glimpse of the doctrines of Christianity and that he was its precursor.

“Aristotle of Stagyra (born 384 B. C.), a disciple of Plato, and the tutor of Alexander the Great, was, on the contrary, the philosopher of reflective reasoning. In an exactly opposite manner to Plato he proceeded by analysis from the particular to the general; he rejected *à priori* ideas, and took as his aim researches in nature — the study of what already exists, of what is called reality. His extraordinary perspicacity, and the extent of

his knowledge, made him the head of the school of experimental philosophy.

“ In Raphael’s fresco, the difference of the principles of these two men of genius is admirably expressed by their attitudes and gestures. Plato, as the representative of speculative, contemplative, and theological philosophy, holds his ‘Timaeus’ in his left hand, whilst he raises the other towards God, from whom everything is derived, and to whom everything returns. Aristotle, representing the practical philosophy, holds his book of ‘Ethics,’ and advancing his right hand, seems to affirm that the object of the sciences is morality and the application of experience.

“ A numerous train of disciples of all ages surround them. By the side of Plato is his sister’s son, Speusippus of Athens, who remained faithful to the old Academy; also Menedemus of Eretria, the cynic; Xenocrates, the Chalcedonian; Phaedon and Agathon, to whom Plato gave the most distinguished places in his ‘Symposium.’ By the side of Aristotle, and the nearest to him, is Theophrastus of Eresus, whom he named his heir and successor; Eudemus of Rhodes, Dichaearchus of Messana, and Aristoxenus of Tarentum, the musician, are a little further back. The stoics Zeno of Citium, in Cyprus; Cleanthus of Assus, and

Chrysippus of Soli are in the foreground. According to Diogenes Laertius, Chrysippus was the support of the stoic school, founded by Zeno; his dialectics were celebrated, and his contemporaries said that, 'if there were any book on dialectics amongst the gods, it could only be that of Chrysippus.' The two philosophers who walk behind the stoics are an allusion to the denomination of peripatetics, which was applied to the disciples of Aristotle, because their master walked with them in the Lyceum when instructing them.

"On the middle step, Diogenes of Sinope, surnamed the Cynic, is lying negligently, holding a tablet in his hand, and seemingly engaged in profound meditation, without troubling himself about the illustrious men who surround him. This singular man (born B. C. 414), a disciple of Antisthenes, founded the severe school of virtue, which he interpreted to be an absolute renunciation of all the material things of life. He thus expressed the ground of his doctrine: 'To need nothing, is the quality of the gods; to need but little, is to be like the gods.' So by his side is merely his bowl, the only article he would allow himself to own until the day when he recognized the superfluity even of this, on seeing a child drink out of his hand.

“Contemporaneous with cynicism and stoicism, epicureanism yet differed from them on many points. The founder of the epicurean sect, Epicurus (born B. C. 342 at Gargettus, near Athens), also took personal happiness as his aim; but he sought for it in the harmony of moral and sensual enjoyments. The epicurean only practised virtue and wisdom with regard to their consequences and as a means of pleasure; he lived soberly and fraternally, and mastered joy as suffering. The fresco shows Epicurus descending the steps of the platform; he is conversing with Aristippus, surnamed Metrodidactus, a young man with curly hair and wearing a rich costume, and points out to him the proud stoic, disdaining all sensual enjoyments.

“The Greek genius, in its searches for a solution of the universal enigma, had exhausted itself in its multiform endeavours. When the great men disappeared, there only remained small sects continually crossing and recrossing each other's path. This confused transition is indicated by the young man leaning against the base of one of the columns. Standing on one leg with the other crossed, he is writing on his knee, not what he has gathered from his own researches, but what he has heard here and there from others. He repre-

sents the eclecticism which was about to commence.

“ But whilst eclecticism is laying hold on all that to it appears true in the different systems, scepticism arising at the same time declares that the falsity of all established truth may be proved; a tendency, the result of which would be the annihilation of all science and all philosophy. Pyrrho of Elis (born B. C. 354) is the representative of this sceptical philosophy, to which his name has even been given (pyrrhonism). We may venture to point out as Pyrrho the philosopher standing inactive, who is leaning against the base of a column and looking sarcastically at the book in which the young eclectic is writing. The philosopher standing by his side, who, by a movement of hesitation turns his head on one side and his body to the other, must be Arcesilaus of Pitane (born B. C. 318) the founder of the new Academy, who in theory inclined towards scepticism and in practice towards stoicism. He in general only drew his inferences from problematical knowledge, and, as all reason is subject to contradiction, he considered himself obliged to abstain from any decided adhesion. We may also admit that the philosopher advancing, wrapped in his mantle, and a stick in his hand, is one of the later cynics mocked by

Lucian, who went about the country with a bag at their back. Lastly the young man running away must indicate the close of the ancient Greek school.

“It now remains to consider the group in the foreground of the right side. Opposite to Pythagoras, representing speculative mathematics, we see practical mathematics. Leaving speculation more and more, the mind is carried on to the positive sciences. In the picture they commence by the study of geometry, which is taught by a master bending over the ground, and demonstrating with compasses the isogonal figure drawn on a tablet. Several pupils are grouped around him. In this personage, Raphael has perpetuated the portrait of Bramante, his master in architecture. But it is difficult at the present time to decide whether he intended to represent, by this figure, Archimedes, the celebrated mechanician, or Euclid of Alexandria, the greatest mathematician of antiquity. The countenances of the young disciples express very clearly different degrees of aptitude; the first, notwithstanding all his efforts, is unable to seize the demonstration, whilst the young man leaning against him seems to have understood it already; a third kneeling at the side has understood the subject and is speaking of it to a

companion behind who testifies his admiration.

“Not far from this group, two venerable figures symbolize astronomy and geography. The man whose back is turned, covered with a royal mantle, with a crown on his head and a globe in his hand, is the geographer Ptolemy, whose geography served as a guide for all travellers down to the sixteenth century. At this time he was confounded with the King of Egypt. The man with a beard, holding a celestial globe in his right hand, is the magician Zoroaster, who, according to tradition, was King of Bactria, in the time of Ninus. Petrarch also, in his ‘Trionfo della Fama,’ mentions Zoroaster as the founder of magic, a science closely allied to astrology. At the extreme right of this group, Raphael has introduced himself with his master Perugino, as auditors.”

To complete the description, it is necessary only to mention the statues and bas-reliefs serving as decorations for the hall. In niches at each side are statues of “Apollo” and “Pallas,” which while conceived in thoroughly classic spirit, are not copies of any antique model. The “Apollo” is nearest to a Greek original, as it is adapted, though very freely, from an antique gem in the Naples Museum,



RAPHAEL AND PERUGINO (1508-1511)
Stanze of the Vatican, Rome

which once belonged to the Medici, and depicts Apollo and Marsyas. The "Pallas" has, as far as we know, no classic prototype. Below the statues are a double set of bas-reliefs, on the right a woman with a book and sceptre, attended by two winged children, and on the left two scenes of combat. One represents philosophy, the other the eternal strife of principles.

Raphael's problem on the two side walls, with their unbroken expanses, had been comparatively simple, but on the two end walls he had a much harder task, as each was broken by a window. In the next fresco, the "Parnassus," far from finding this an impediment, he turned it to account for the purpose of his composition. The space over the window became the summit of the sacred mount, and here, seated in a grove of laurel, we behold the Muses surrounding Apollo, while on the slopes of the hill and in the foreground are to be seen the poets of ancient and modern times. The grouping is absolutely free from any semblance of stiffness or constraint.

The figure of Apollo is that of a splendid youth whose own soul is filled with rapture by the divine strains evoked by his bow. It is true that his instrument is the violin and not the lyre of ancient tradition, but Raphael had

already represented the god with the ancient instrument in more than one composition, and perhaps desired to use a musical instrument which would mean more to beholders of his own time. The deity is surrounded by the muses, among whom Erato, holding in her lap a seven-stringed lyre, gazes at him passionately. Opposite her Calliope, recumbent on the bank, holds in her hand a horn and gazes vacantly into space. Behind her Melpomene stands, with a tragic mask almost concealed, and by her side Terpsichore and Polyhymnia clasp each other in mutual affection. On the other side Clio and Thalia gaze in absorption at the god, while Euterpe is shown in converse with Urania, who stands on the verge of the hill and looks down at the poets below.

Almost on the summit of the hill to the left we recognize the blind Homer, his head thrown back with a noble gesture, reciting a poem which is being taken down by a young man seated near him. Behind him is Virgil, pointing out Apollo to Dante, while in the background is an unknown figure; below them, in the foreground, we see the magnificent figure of Sappho, seated on a rock and listening to a lively conversation between four poets, one of whom we recognize as Petrarch, while the others though doubtful, have been named as



CENTRAL GROUP FROM PARNASSUS (1508-1511)
Stanze of the Vatican, Rome

Alcaeus, Anacreon, and Corinna of Thebes. It is noteworthy that the figure of Sappho appears to project out of the picture space, an illusion helped by the fact that her shadow is painted upon the window frame, and in this respect she is a counterfoil to the massive figure of Pindar on the other side, who is also represented as projecting beyond the frame. He is represented as conversing with Horace and behind them the Neapolitan Sanazzaro and Ovid, his finger to his mouth, look out of the picture. Behind these two again there is another group of four, of whom Ariosto and Boccaccio may perhaps be recognized from contemporary portraits and the figure next to Thalia is supposed to be Antonio Tebaldeo. These attributions are mainly by Passavant and hardly agree with the description of Vasari, who mentions Ennius, Tibullus, Catullus, and Propertius as also represented. The subject is full of difficulty and no writer since Passavant has seen fit to be very specific; in this they are perhaps wise, as it is probable that Raphael's thought was one of generalization rather than portraiture.

The figures of three great epic poets on the left, while easily recognizable, can in no instance be regarded as authentic portraits, and Homer especially is modelled after the face

of the Laocoon rather than from any of the antique busts. The thought of the beholder is not the identification of individuals, but one of sensuous pleasure at the fine sweep of lines and the glorious radiance falling from the sky behind on Apollo and his attendant Muses. The drawing throughout betrays the utmost freedom, and yet is modelled on careful studies from both life and the antique. It reveals Raphael in full mastery of the process of fresco and seems to have been executed with the greatest freedom and rapidity.

Beneath Parnassus, on each side of the window, are two small paintings honouring the two greatest poets of antiquity. One depicts the legendary episode of Alexander directing the deposition of Homer's poems in the tomb of Achilles and in the other Augustus is shown preventing Virgil's friends from burning the manuscript of the *Æneid* as directed by its author.

The fourth side of the room shows quite a different treatment. Here the painter has cut off the space above the window to form a lunette, in which he has depicted the three virtues, Force, Prudence, and Moderation, which, with Justice above, comprised the indispensable requisites of the lawgiver. In the centre Prudence or Wisdom sits sideways on a marble

throne, considering her image in a mirror held up by a winged boy, while she steadies it with her right hand; leaning upon her left hand and with her right leg thrown forward, her shape is a truly majestic one. On the right a wingless boy holds a flaming torch in front of Moderation, who holds in her hand the bridle of the passions, while she turns to look at a winged genius seated behind her, who points to heaven, as if to impress the lesson that all the virtues are in vain without aid from above. A still more noble figure is that of Force on the other side. The oak branch which she holds symbolizes at once strength and the Rovere family, of which this tree was the badge. A winged genius in her lap plucks the acorns, and another one at the extreme left completes the picture. In these figures we find strength and foreshortenings heretofore unknown to Raphael. Was it not perhaps at this time that Raphael saw the Sibyls of Michelangelo in the Sistine Chapel, even though Vasari places this event somewhat later? Not that Raphael has taken an idea or even an outline from his great composer, but into the Raphaelesque has crept a suggestion of a greater strength, subtly combined with his own purity of colour and brilliancy of light.

With this fine allegory Raphael might have been content, but two more spaces remained to be filled, and beside the window we find two historical subjects depicting the codification of the civil and the canon law, "Justinian Issuing the Pandects" and "Gregory IX Promulgating the Decretals." In these pictures Raphael introduced an innovation, later to be of much importance. Before this time his paintings had rarely contained portraits, but here we find Gregory IX with the features of Julius II, and among the surrounding prelates we recognize the features of Giovanni de' Medici, the future Leo X, Alexander Farnese, who was to become Paul III, and Alexander del Monte.

Thus Raphael completed the decoration of this chamber and made it the noblest room which a roof had ever covered. To-day, though the walls have cracked, though the colours have changed, though the ignoble hands of meaner men have reworked the aging surfaces, though the noble intarsia wainscoting of Giovanni of Verona was long since torn down, the Stanza della Segnatura stands as one of the most perfectly decorated rooms in the world and a monument in the history of art. Long before its completion the Pope had recognized the genius of his young painter,

had dismissed every other artist employed in his service and had given Raphael the sole commission to complete the decoration of the four apartments.

The work had taken three years, and Raphael's own hand had performed the whole of it. It seems incredible that this should have been the case, but an examination of the pictures themselves enables one to discover that it is actually a fact. According to Müntz each figure in the "School of Athens," took less than a day, as is evident from the joinings of the plaster, but we must remember that in addition to painting the frescos during these three years, Raphael's growing fame had brought him many orders for altarpieces and easel paintings and he had done much work in this direction.

Meanwhile, I may mention that during the period when Raphael was working in the Camera della Segnatura his heart was assailed by the tender pangs of love. There still exist three sonnets and part of a fourth written by him, all of which were found upon drawings for "The Dispute of the Sacrament." To whom these sonnets were addressed is not known, though it is supposed that some high-born lady may have been the unknown idol of Raphael's affection. Though not of the high-

est poetic merit, they are interesting as showing the workings of his mind, so that we append one of them transcribed into modern Italian and also metrical translations of all, made by F. C. Bunnett.

“ Un pensier dolce è rimembrare il modo
Di quello assalto, ma più grave è'l danno
Del partir, ch' io restai como quei ch' hanno
In mar perso la stella, se'l ver odo.
Or lingua di parlar disciogli el nodo,
A dir di questo inusitato inganno
Ch' amor mi fece per mio grave affanno:
Ma lui per ne ringrazio, e lei ne lodo.
L'ora sesta era, che l'ocaso un sole
Aveva fatto, e l'altro surse in loco,
Atto più da far fatti che parole;
Ma io restai pur vinto al mio gran foco
Che mi tormenta: chè dove l'uom suole
Disiar di parlar piu riman fioco.”

“ 'Tis sweet in thought to embrace thee once again!
But waking from my dream, thy loss comes back;
And like some mariner who has lost his track,
And finds a starless heaven, I remain.
Let my tongue burst its fetters, and disclose
How Love destroyed me with his cunning ways,
And drew me down to his own loss and woes;
But yet I thank his wiles, and her I praise.
'Twas even, and one sun had long declined,
When in its place that other sun arose
With speechless action, utterance to find

Thus have I been by cruel thoughts assailed
With their tormenting power; for when I pined
To vent my grief in words, all utterance failed."

"Love, that ensnar'st me with thy magic light
From eyes that melt me into hope and fears;
Like snow on roses lying she appears
With words and actions to inspire delight.
Until so warm my flame, that no sea wave
Could quench the burning ardour that I know;
Yet revelling in the flame I feel its glow,
Nor wish from its consuming power to save.
How sweetly passive was she when controll'd;
Throwing her white arms as a chain around,
Until it seemed like death to loose her hold.
Yet pause I here, tho' still my thoughts abound.
For joys excessive, fatal powers enfold;
Yet while I cease, to thee my thoughts are bound."

"As Paul from mortal ear those words withheld
Which he had heard in Paradise above,
So round my heart is drawn a veil of love,
By which my thoughts in secrecy are held.
Hence all I did and all that sight revealed,
From my own bosom none shall dare to know;
And my dark locks to silvery white shall grow,
Ere night shall open all that lies concealed.
Yet see my passion, and vouchsafe this grace,
That being thine, it may be granted me,
That thou wouldst burn a little for my flame;
And if my prayers with thee may find a place,
Ne'er would I pause thy piteous help to claim
Until the powers of utterance silent be."

“Sad thought! that unto thee I gave my heart,
Seeking for peace, and finding nought but pain;
Seest thou the bitter anguish and the smart
With which life's fairest years are from me ta'en?
But ye, my efforts, and thou, aching grief,
Waken the thought that had in slumber lain,
And point to paths, ascending which I gain
Sublimer heights that may afford relief.”

CHAPTER VII

THE STANZA OF HELIODORUS AND CONTEMPORARY PAINTINGS

THE date when Raphael finished his labours in the Camera della Segnatura has not been accurately determined, but we know that it was toward the latter part of 1511, from Raphael's inscription including the cipher of this year. The Pope had left Rome in the fall of 1510 for a campaign in the north, from which he returned defeated in the latter part of June, 1511. When he arrived at Bologna on this expedition he dismissed his barber, having resolved that his beard should not be trimmed until he had expelled the French from Italy. In the meantime Raphael's work had remained incompleted because the Pope had given him no sittings for the portrait in the "Decretals." On his return his beard had eight months' growth and it must have been shortly thereafter that Raphael had his sittings and prepared his cartoon for the last frescos. Allowing a reasonable time, we may assume that the

work was completed in August. Michelangelo had by this time completed about half of the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel, and probably realized that it would not be wise for his rival's great work to be displayed to public gaze without a corresponding action on his own part. This must have been the time, therefore, when he wrote his father, "that he had given the last touches to that portion of the ceiling which he commenced," and also informed the Pope that he was ready to remove a portion of his scaffolding. So, as Paris de Grassis informs us, on the 14th and 15th of August, 1511, the Pope attended vespers and high mass in the Sistine Chapel and was able to "see the new pictures which had just been uncovered."

Thus it is probable that the great frescos of Raphael and Michelangelo were seen by the Pope almost at the same time, and it is not to be wondered at that fierce strife broke out between the partisans of the painters. Bramante suggested that the Pope should place Raphael in the Sistine Chapel to finish the ceiling and require Michelangelo to complete his mausoleum. The latter in turn railed against Bramante for his wastefulness in the construction of St. Peter's. Meanwhile, the Pope fell ill and his life was despaired of, but he recovered and, as is recorded, after par-

taking of a hearty meal of onions and peaches made his decision as to the future work of his artists. Michelangelo was commissioned to finish the Sistine ceiling and Raphael was awarded the painting of a passage between the Vatican and the Belvedere, and then the decoration of the Camera of Heliodorus. Of the first work, comprising seventeen arcades, Raphael had completed but one before the death of Julius and for this he received two hundred ducats. During the reign of Leo he completed four more but was paid only one hundred and fifty ducats each. This portion of the building fell down during the reign of Clemens VII and it is probable that the pictures were then destroyed. No record survives even of their subjects.

From the sittings which Julius gave him at this time, Raphael doubtless prepared the cartoon which was used for the long series of paintings of this Pope which still exist. In all of them the Pope appears, not as a man of boundless ambition and fiery energy, but old, seamed with care, and bowed by reverses; buried in thought, he seems to be brooding over the words which he was to speak on his death bed, a confession of mortal sins betraying remorseful knowledge that he had ruled the church as it should not have been ruled.

The original cartoon of this portrait is now in the Corsini Palace at Florence, and from it was doubtless executed copy after copy, for it has been reduced by pinholes and attrition to a state where hardly a line of Raphael's drawing is visible. The two best examples of the portrait are in Florence, but Crowe and Cavalcaselle believe that neither is the original, which for more than half a century remained in Santa Maria del Popolo at Rome, and which was described by Vasari as a marvel, "the sight of which made one tremble." According to them, this panel was offered at the close of the 16th century by Cardinal Sfondrato to the Emperor Rudolph VII, since when all traces of it have been lost. Francesco Maria of Urbino is supposed to have obtained the cartoon from Raphael and taken it to his palace, where it remained until brought to Florence in 1635 with the dowry of Vittoria, the last descendant of the Montefeltros. With the cartoon came the two paintings, one of which is now in the Uffizi and the second in the Pitti. Crowe and Cavalcaselle ascribe the first to Francesco Penni and the second to Giovanni da Udine, two of Raphael's closest associates in his latter years. The general consensus of the critics is that the Pitti picture is probably, in part at least, by Raphael's own hand, and as such, it

$\mathcal{L}_{\text{reg}} = \mathcal{L}_{\text{reg}}^{\text{train}} + \mathcal{L}_{\text{reg}}^{\text{val}}$
 $\mathcal{L}_{\text{reg}}^{\text{train}} = \frac{1}{N} \sum_{i=1}^N \ell(y_i, \hat{y}_i)$

Pope Julius II (1511-1512)
Pitti Palace, Florence



is here reproduced in colours. In addition to these two copies, fully a dozen others exist in various European galleries, the best being in the National Gallery in London.

The portrait of Julius II was not the only picture by Raphael which found a place in Santa Maria del Popolo. The church also boasted a beautiful "Holy Family," which was described with enthusiasm by Vasari and later shared the fate of the portrait of Julius in being confiscated by Cardinal Sfondrato, who offered this also to the German Emperor. Since 1615 no trace of it can be found, although an unfounded legend states that it eventually made its way to the sanctuary of Loretto, whence it disappeared during the French Revolution. That it was an interesting and beautiful picture is sufficiently proved by copies which have been preserved. It represented the Child awakened from sleep with his hands raised toward a piece of gauze held over him by his Mother. Behind her stood St. Joseph, resting both hands on the end of his staff. In some respects it resembled the "Madonna of the Diadem," but was perhaps more reminiscent of Raphael's earlier manner. The picture evidently proved attractive, both to art critics and copyists, for a large number of reproductions of more or less merit have

been catalogued, perhaps the best of which is now in the Louvre.

The "Madonna of the Diadem," otherwise known as the "Madonna of the Veil," which is also in the Louvre, shows the Child, as in the last, lying on a pillow, but instead of being awake he is sleeping, with one hand by his side and the other thrown over his head. Beside him kneels Mary, crowned with a diadem from which her veil flows back over her shoulders. With her extended right hand she lifts the gauze veil from the sleeping Babe, while with the other she clasps to her the infant John with his cross of reeds, who has both hands clasped in adoration of the future Saviour. The background is filled with massive ruins, plainly betraying the Roman origin of the picture.

One of the most beautiful of all the Madonnas of the Roman period is that now in the Hermitage at St. Petersburg, known as the "Madonna della Casa d' Alba." This is a circular panel about three feet in diameter, and represents the Virgin resting in a meadow which is dotted with flowers. Seated upon the ground, she rests against the fallen stump of an oak tree, with her left leg extended and her right bent beneath her. Her face and body are turned to her right, while with her left

hand she preserves her place in the book which she has been reading. At her right kneels the infant John, holding in his arms a reed cross which the infant Saviour grasps. The Virgin's arm rests on John's shoulder and at the same time supports Christ, who is half gliding from her lap. The two children look at each other with charming glances of mutual affection, and the Mother's glance is directed with subdued melancholy on the cross, as if she realized the future martyrdom. Behind these figures is a beautiful landscape showing a winding river with farmsteads on either side. The soft faces remind us of the influence of Leonardo and the landscape is distinctly Florentine, but the glorious modelling and magnificent drapery show the more masterly handling of form of the Roman period. The original sketch for this painting is in the Museum at Lille and it is noteworthy that the first sketch for the Madonna della Sedia is on the back of the same sheet, though the picture itself was not painted until long after.

Of the same period is the Madonna in the National Gallery at London, variously known as the "Aldobrandini" or "Garvagh Madonna" from various owners. Here the scene is laid within a room, through the windows of which we see a Roman landscape. The dark

pillar between the openings brings out in strong relief the white face of the Madonna, seated upon a bench and holding in her lap the Child. He supports himself with one hand and with the other presents a pink to John, who is standing upon the floor and reaching up. The Mother raises her mantle with one hand to shield her Babe, while with the other she presses John forward to take the flower. The composition is a beautiful pyramid, and the colouring is bright and splendid.

Another Roman Madonna, once belonging to the poet Rogers, was purchased by R. J. Mackintosh in 1856, and presented to the National Gallery in 1906 by Miss Eva Mackintosh. In this the Virgin stands behind a parapet on which the Child is standing, and clasps him to her bosom with a gesture of fondest affection. It is unfortunately in very poor condition from accidents and restorations.

Most of the pictures just described were painted during the intervals of Raphael's labours in the Stanza della Segnatura, and from this time on the number of pictures painted by him outside of his duties in the Vatican Chambers is large. This fact is mainly to be explained by the increasing number of young men who worked under his influence and assisted him in his daily labours. We have al-

ready mentioned Giovanni da Udine and Francesco Penni, often called *Il Fattore*, because of his dexterity in many kinds of artistic work. The others who are best known from their constant association with the master in his later years were Giulio Romano and Perino del Vaga. These scholars and many others worked in Raphael's studio, assisting in the preparation of the cartoons, their transference to the wall, and, in later years, to a considerable extent in the actual painting. The question as to how much of the frescos was done by the scholars and how much by the master is much disputed. Each critic seems to have assigned to the assistants such pictures or parts of works as do not personally please him. It is well known that Raphael was a hard and continuous worker, but if we subtracted from the sum total of his later work the parts which various critics have assigned to others, the remainder would scarcely be sufficient to keep any painter busy.

Raphael also had another assistant from this time on, Marc Antonio Raimondi, who engraved many of Raphael's finished works and even some sketches which were never painted by the master. The first plate engraved by him for Raphael was "The Massacre of the Innocents," and though various drawings for

individual figures still remain, these seem to have been combined by the engraver, with or without a sketch by Raphael, to form the completed design. The plate is not artistically a success, being stiff and frigid.

The Camera of Heliodorus marks a distinct change in the thoughts of both Julius II and Raphael. Instead of being a composition devoted to glorifying the powers of intellect, the purpose of the second chamber is the glorification of religion, and especially of the visible representative of religion in Rome, Pope Julius II. The first painting, "The Expulsion of Heliodorus," is a scarcely concealed allusion to the military achievements of Julius; the second, the "Miracle of Bolsena," is a direct challenge to unbelief and incredulity. The two later paintings, which belong to the reign of Leo X, are equally personal. "The Deliverance of St. Peter" suggests that of Leo. "The Repulse of Attila," in representing the first Leo, inevitably suggests his successor, Leo X. Because of these personalities the opportunity to produce a series of decorations really portraying the glories of the church and its most famous exploits was not properly grasped, for an impartial historian would doubtless have selected quite different subjects.

The change in Raphael's methods is no less apparent; only his own thought and skill had been applied in the decoration of the Camera della Segnatura. His own hands had produced the sketches, the cartoons, and the finished fresco. Doubtless he had assistants, but only here and there can we discern the traces of a less skilled touch. The easel paintings which he produced in the first three years of his sojourn at Rome were doubtless done in spare hours when freezing weather or other contingencies forbade his work upon the fresco. Such outside work was necessary, for, as we have seen, he was but ill paid for his labours for the Pope, and consequently Julius was obliged to give him permission to employ his talents in the service of other patrons. Permission once given, and his fame established, it would be impossible for him to refuse many of the commissions offered him. The princes of the church were imperious in their commands, and not even the masterful Michelangelo was able to withstand their wishes. Much less could the gentle and courtly Raphael refuse to execute their orders, even had he been so inclined.

The natural result was that, having surrounded himself with assistants and pupils who were in full harmony with his ideas and trained

in his methods, he deputed to them some of the tasks set before him. His sketches, though far more powerful, became fewer in number; his cartoons were doubtless executed in great part by his friends under his supervision, and the manual execution of the frescos and even of parts of his altarpieces and easel paintings was entrusted to other hands, subject to final revision and touching up by himself.

When Raphael entered upon the decoration of the Stanza of Heliodorus, the walls and ceilings were already covered with frescos by Piero della Francesca, Bramantino and Peruzzi. We do not know what the subjects of the wall paintings were, though aware that they contained the portraits of many notable men of the Middle Ages. Raphael esteemed them worthy of perpetuation, and before they were removed had his pupils make copies of them, which were afterwards given by Giulio Romano to the bishop Paulo Giovio. The ceiling decoration by Peruzzi, consisting of wide bands ornamented with medallions and decorative figures, was left almost as it was. His only addition was the four scriptural subjects which he painted in simulation of loose sheets of tapestry nailed to the roof. By chemical action between the plaster and the colours, these paintings have become bleached and

faded, but in composition they are noble and well worthy of our admiration.

The first subject, "God Appearing to Noah," is founded on the following passages from Genesis: "Noah found grace in the eyes of the Lord; he begat three sons, and God said unto Noah, the end of all flesh has come before me, and behold I will destroy them with the earth." The Almighty, accompanied by three angels, floats in the air before Noah, who kneels in adoration. One of his children nestles in his arms, while his wife, coming out of the doorway of their home, is accompanied by the other two children. The second subject is the "Sacrifice of Abraham," showing two angels, one stopping the blow which the father is about to deal to Isaac bound on the altar, and the other bringing down the lamb which is to serve as a substitute. The third picture is "Jacob's Dream," and is in many respects similar to the same subject afterwards painted in the Loggie. The fourth picture shows "Moses and the Burning Bush" and portrays the kneeling lawgiver hiding his eyes in fear and trembling before the Almighty, proceeding from the flames, and surrounded by cherubs and seraphs. All four of these paintings are admirable in mass, strong in modelling, and effective in drapery. Below them is

a border which contains the arms and name of Julius II at two points, with angels as supporters. Between these are imitation bas-reliefs of Roman skirmishes, together with characterizations of Friendship, Chastity, Wantonness, Baptism, Prayer, Law, Labor, Force, Childhood, Play and Study.

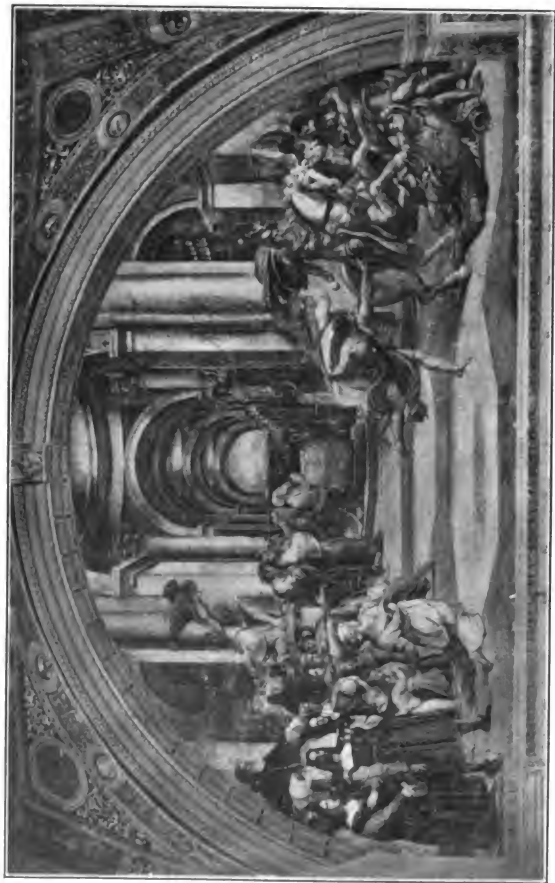
Raphael's work in this chamber reached its height in the ceiling decorations, which were entirely by his own hand. The wall paintings no longer display his greatest force nor his own execution throughout. The sketches in existence leave no doubt that they were drawn by his pupils from his own suggestions and plans, and in this state passed upon by the Pope. Undoubtedly corrections and improvements were made before the designs were applied to the walls, but there is not the strength of imagination, nor the freedom of drawing in the frescos which we could reasonably expect.

The subject of the "Expulsion of Heliodorus" is taken from the apocryphal second book of Maccabeus and portrays the scenes described in the following extract from the third chapter: "Then it would have pitied a man to see the falling down of the multitude of all sorts, and the fear of the high priest, being in such an agony. They then called upon the Almighty Lord to keep the things

committed of trust safe and sure for those that had committed them. Nevertheless Heliodorus executed that which was decreed. Now as he was there present himself with his guard about the treasury, the Lord of Spirits and the Prince of all power caused a great apparition, so that all that presumed to come in with him were astonished at the power of God, and fainted, and were sore afraid. For there appeared unto them an horse with a terrible rider upon him, and adorned with a very fair covering, and he ran fiercely and smote at Heliodorus with his fore-feet, and it seemed that he that sat upon the horse had complete harness of gold. Moreover two other young men appeared before him, notable in strength, excellent in beauty, and comely in apparel, who stood by him on either side, and scourged him continually, and gave him many sore stripes, and Heliodorus fell suddenly unto the ground, and was compassed with great darkness; but they that were with him took him up and put him into a litter. Thus, him that lately came with a great train, and with all his guard into the treasury, they carried out."

In his composition, Raphael has fused the various incidents which should take place in sequence, into a connected whole. The high priest is still seen praying at the altar, which is

set in the crossing of a noble basilica. Behind him are priests illuminated by the candles of worship, and a little nearer the spectators but still within the presbytery, two of the elders lean against the column, indignant at the spoliation. The whole central space is free, leaving the groups to right and left connected by the group about the altar, and beautifully echoing the semicircular frame by a composition of the same shape. The group at the right is full of action; the guards of Seleucus have already possessed themselves of the treasure and are still toiling forward with it, though their motion is about to be arrested. Heliodorus, in full armour, is already thrown to the ground and the vase of gold pieces, which he was carrying, is spilled upon the floor. With the aid of his lance and defended by his guards he endeavours to rise, but it is too late. The magnificent white horse, rearing on his hind legs, is trampling upon him, and its rider, completely clothed in golden armour, makes ready to strike him with a mace. Behind this apparition appear two other celestial messengers, advancing with such impetuosity that they do not touch the pavement. Their draperies float behind them and in their hands they hold scourges with which they are ready to strike. On the other side a crowd of women



THE EXPULSION OF HELIODORUS (1512-1514)
Stanza of the Vatican, Rome

and children point with surprise and delight to the miracle which is occurring before them, while a couple of youths, in their desire to see all that is happening, climb upon the pillars of the edifice.

Such was the composition as Raphael sketched it, but the imperious will of Julius would not allow that the triumph of the church should take place without his assistance, and so in the right foreground we see his stern form borne in on a litter by Marc Antonio Raimondi and Giulio Romano, while by his side stands a secretary, otherwise of little note, whose name is handed down to posterity by the inscription on a scroll in his hands. The onlooker feels little disturbance because of this anachronistic addition. The group on the left is a quiet and composed arrangement, and the action proceeding from it through the central group becomes more and more forceful to reach its culmination in the turmoil at the right. Great as the composition may be, however, the execution bears traces of a diversity of hands, but incompletely harmonized by the reconciling touch of the master. The illness of Julius and his knowledge that his health was failing, probably caused him to press Raphael for the completion of this room, so that the assistants were employed in the execution of

the "Heliodorus," while Raphael himself executed almost alone the "Mass of Bolsena."

In this noble painting we find no inharmonious elements. Religious feeling, pure and undiluted, fills the composition, and renders it the highest achievement of Raphael's art in fresco painting. The subject is an incident which occurred, according to tradition, in 1263, during the pontificate of Urban IV, when a priest of the church of St. Christina at Bolsena, who doubted the reality of transubstantiation, beheld drops of blood flow from the host which he had just consecrated in the celebration of the mass. To this miracle is due the establishment of the Feast of Corpus Christi, which was introduced into the church about fifty years later.

Various sketches preserved for this work by no means rise to the level of the completed fresco in composition or details. In them the priest alone occupies the platform, and the Pope was placed on a lower level, but in accordance with Julius' characteristic exaction his importance had to be established in the final drawing. The difficulties of the composition, increased by the intrusion of a window unsymmetrically cutting the space, have been overcome in masterly fashion. The altar, raised on a platform approached by steps on



THE MASS OF BOLSENA (1512-1514)
Stanza of the Vatican, Rome

either side, occupies the centre of the space. At it the kneeling priest beholds the miracle with an expression of repentant humility. The effect of the phenomenon increases with the distance of the beholders. The priest's assistant expresses his astonishment by his face and the wondering motion of his right hand. The taper bearers move forward with admiration, and two of the congregation, who have climbed upon the screen behind the altar, engage in eager conversation about the miracle. The rest of the auditors on the left and below the level of the altar are moved by still stronger feelings, as shown by their excited faces, uplifted hands, and the hasty movement of one woman who seems ready to throw herself forward against the altar.

On the other side of the picture we find more calm. The Pope, Julius II replacing Urban IV, kneels before a carved stool in severe grandeur. Behind him on lower steps are Riario, president of the sacred college, another cardinal and two priests, and below them on the floor are five kneeling Swiss guards, who with their characteristic immobility are scarcely conscious of what has taken place above them, though one or two betray some little surprise. In richness of colouring and warmth of execution this painting far sur-

passes any of the previous frescos and is almost Venetian in its magnificence.

An inscription painted by Raphael below the "Mass of Bolsena," to the effect that the picture was finished in 1512 and in the eighth year of the pontificate of Julius, would imply that it was finished before the first of November, the anniversary of his election as Pope. Whether he began at once on the "Attila" we cannot say, but it certainly was not finished until the next reign, so that its logical consideration should fall among the works painted under Leo X. It seems unsatisfactory, however, to thus divide the paintings of a single room, so that we will describe the two remaining frescos out of their historical order.

The event portrayed in the "Attila" is a circumstance which occurred in 452. Attila, King of the Huns, advancing on Rome, was met on the bank of the river Oglio by Bishop Leo, who had been sent forth by the Emperor Valentinian to arrange a peace. Leo, after offering presents to Attila, told him of the special protection given the city of Rome by St. Peter, and warned him that Alaric had suffered a premature death for having injured the city. At this moment, according to tradition, a gigantic man brandishing a sword appeared by the side of the Pope and so fright-



LEO I AND ATILA, (1512-1514)
Stanza of the Vatican Rome

ened Attila that he retired from Italy with his army. Later versions of the tradition replace the gigantic bearer of the sword by St. Peter and St. Paul, and this version is the one adopted by Raphael.

In an early sketch for the fresco, now in the Louvre, the two saints bearing swords are seen flying through the heavens, carrying confusion into Attila's army, without being seen by the spectators and soldiers on the left. In this version the Pope with his suite is in the background. The subject was undoubtedly accepted by Julius II and it is probable that the first sketch was rejected by him in favour of the final design where the Pope with two cardinals, preceded by his mace and cross, is brought to the foreground. It is likewise probable that the fresco was begun before the death of Julius and that the substitution of Leo X as Pope was an afterthought. In no other way can we explain the fact that one of the cardinals also represents Leo, and this part must have been painted under the pontificate of Julius II and not changed after Leo X became Pope.

Here again, as in so many of the frescos, we find the two halves strongly contrasted, one quiet, peaceful and dignified, while the other is full of turbulent motion and action. Attila

in full armour, on a white horse, is filled with terror by the unforeseen apparition. His soldiers, footmen and horsemen, are likewise arrested by the portent; some stand in amazement, some turn in terror, and the trumpets blow a retreat, while the wavering standards are arrested in their forward march. The gestures of the flying angels are full of significance. St. Paul points with grave displeasure to the fires kindled by the advancing army, while St. Peter's uplifted sword shows the divine protection of the church. The landscape background combines a Roman landscape with the Coelian and Palatine hills, and the rugged Alpine pass through which the invaders had come shortly before. In spite of this incongruity, the anachronism of the personages, and the ravages of time, the fresco is a masterpiece and shows Raphael's determination to impress the new Pope with his powers.

The fourth wall displays the "Deliverance of Peter," and here again, because of the exigencies of the wall space, the composition assumes an unusual form. Over the window is depicted the cell from which the angel is delivering Peter, who lies in chains. At the left a guard with a torch struggles up the steps, awakening his sleeping comrades, whose ar-

mour is lighted by the crescent moon; while on the other side is simultaneously represented an event later than the central group, the attendant angel leading Peter out over the prostrate form of the sleeping guards. This picture appealed most powerfully to Vasari, whose description cannot be surpassed and is here appended:

“The architectural details here depicted and the simple delineation of the prison, are treated with so much ingenuity that the works of other artists, when compared with those of Raphael, seem to exhibit as much of confusion as do that master’s of grace and beauty. Raphael constantly endeavoured to represent the circumstances which he depicted as they are described or written, and to assemble only the most appropriate and characteristic objects in his works, as for example in the picture before us, where he reveals to us the wretchedness of the prison. Bound with chains, that aged man is seen extended between two soldiers; the deep and heavy sleep of the guards is rendered fully manifest, as the resplendent light proceeding from the angel illumines the darkness of night, and causes the most minute particulars of the prison to be clearly discerned: the arms of the sleepers shine so brilliantly that their burnished lustre seems rather to belong

to things real and palpable, than to the merely painted surface of a picture.

“No less remarkable are the art and ingenuity displayed in another part of the same picture; that namely where, freed from his chains, the apostle walks forth from his prison accompanied by the angel. In the countenance of St. Peter there is evidence that he is as a man who feels himself to be acting in a dream, and not as one awake. Equally well expressed are the terror and dismay of those among the guards, who being outside the prison hear the clang of the iron door; a sentinel with a torch in his hand awakens his sleeping companions; the light he holds is reflected from their armour, and all that lies within the place. This admirably conceived picture Raphael has placed over the window, as the darkest part of the room; it thus happens that when the spectator regards the painting, the light of day strikes on his eyes and the beams of the natural light mingle and contend with the different lights of the night as seen in the picture, the observer fancies himself really to behold the smoke of the torch, and the splendour of the angel, all which, with the dark shadows of the night, are so natural and so true, that no one would ever affirm it to be painted, but must believe it to be real, so pow-

erfully has our artist rendered this most difficult subject. The play of the shadows on the arms, the flickering reflections of the light, the vapourous halos thrown around the torches, the dim uncertain shade prevailing in certain parts; all are painted in such a manner, that contemplating this work one cannot but declare Raphael to be indeed the master of all masters. Never has painting which purports to counterfeit the night been more truly similar to the reality than is this, which is of a truth a most divine work, and is indeed admitted by common consent to be the most extraordinary and most beautiful of its kind."

Modern opinion hardly rates this fresco as high as Vasari did, the general feeling being that its qualities are rather those of an easel picture than a mural decoration. Its merits in light and shade are, however, high, and in spite of the fact that much of the execution is not by Raphael's hand and that parts of it have been considerably retouched, in its noblest portions, as, for instance, the angel leading Peter forth, which has almost its pristine beauty, it is an inspiring piece of work. The picture undoubtedly owes its conception to the escape of Leo from prison after he had been captured by the French, an occurrence which took place

exactly a year before his elevation to the pontificate.

To conclude our enumeration of the decorations in this room, it is necessary to mention the Caryatides in *grisaille* around the base of the room; these, however, with some small intervening decorations, were so extensively restored by Maratta in 1702-3 that practically no trace of Raphael's work remains. A general survey of the room leads to the conclusion that it contains Raphael's most mature work in fresco in point of execution. In colouring he has reached his highest level; in drawing he has achieved complete mastery of the human form, together with a perception of movement, a grasp of foreshortening and of the relation of gesture to character which, derived in part from Michelangelo, is transmogrified by Raphael's genius to a feeling essentially his own and almost as great. Only in composition will we hereafter find Raphael greater than in the Stanza of Heliodorus.

In the intervals of his work at the Vatican, in the last two years of the reign of Julius, Raphael found the opportunity to do a considerable amount of other painting. It was not every one, however, who was able to procure the works of Raphael's own hand. It was his practice to depute considerable portions of his

work to his pupils, retaining the supervision and reconciling differences as far as possible by his own masterly touch. As greatest among the pictures of this period, both in size and in conception, is generally ranked "The Madonna of Foligno," painted about 1511. This was an altarpiece, more than ten feet in height, destined to adorn the church of Santa Maria in Aracoeli, which Julius had given him permission to paint for his chamberlain Sigismund Conti. The prelate had desired to commemorate his escape from a bomb during the siege of his native town Foligno, which he attributed to the direct interposition of heaven, and this fact is commemorated in the picture by the landscape background, which shows the town in the distance and arching over it the fiery track of the falling projectile. In the heavens, above this, relieved by a great disc of golden light, we behold the Queen of Heaven in red gown and blue mantle. She rests firmly seated upon a billowy mass of clouds which above melts gradually into a background of innumerable playful cherubs. On her lap, one foot resting on the clouds, supported by both his Mother's hands, but still clinging with all his strength to her mantle, sits the chubby Child. He looks down over his shoulder at his devotees in the foreground. On the right

kneels the aged and meagre Conti, admirably painted from life, in an attitude of the most intense devotion. Behind him stands the aged St. Jerome, accompanied by his lion, with one hand on the priest's head and the other spread out with the gesture of commending him to the Madonna's special favour, a movement rendered still more forcible by the imploring look in his deeply sunken eyes. On the other side kneel St. Francis holding a cross and casting his glance to heaven in passionate prayer and John the Baptist with a cross of reeds, shaggy of hair and wild eyed, clad only in a skin, and pointing to the divine pair. Between these two groups stands a winged angel bearing a votive tablet, one of the most charming of all Raphael's innumerable children.

Vasari speaks of this work in terms of the highest admiration, but it is unequal in execution. The figures on the left are ascribed by Crowe and Cavalcaselle to Dosso Dossi. Confirmation of this is had from the account of the French chemists and painters who were present at the removal of the picture from its original panel to canvas at Paris in 1797. At this time the original pencil sketch on the white priming of the panel could be clearly seen from the back, and it was apparent that the original sketch of the hand of St. Jerome and



MADONNA DI FOLIGNO (1511-1512)
Vatican Gallery, Rome

the head of St. Francis were quite different from the final construction of the picture. The picture is considerably injured by the cracking of the original panel and various restorations, but displays a richness of colour almost akin to the Venetian school, a fact which is attributed to the influence of Sebastian del Piombo, a pupil of Giorgione, who had settled at Rome and whose work strongly appealed to Raphael. The picture was removed from its original position to the church of Sant' Anna in Foligno in 1565 by Anna Conti, niece of Sigismund. Previous to this time Francis and Alfonso IV of Ferrara had made repeated efforts to purchase it. It remained in Foligno until carried away by Napoleon to Paris in 1797, and after Waterloo it was returned to the Vatican where it still remains.

To some of the other Madonnas painted at this period, Raphael does not seem to have given his undivided attention. Such was, for instance, the "Madonna of Divine Love," now at Naples. This was painted for Lionello da Carpi of Meldola, and afterwards bought by Cardinal Alexander Farnese, whence by succession it passed through the princes of Parma into the treasures of Naples. Here the central figure is Christ, who, conscious of his divinity, sits astride his Mother's knee, raising

his hand in benediction over the youthful John, who kneels before him in reverent humility. The Virgin with hands joined adores her divine Son, and beside her St. Elizabeth supports the arm of Christ. In the distance we see St. Joseph entering through an arch. While the composition is good, the colouring is coarse and dark, and the execution is ascribed with much probability to Giulio Romano.

Another similar grouping occurs in the Prado in Madrid, "The Holy Family under the Oak." Here Mary sits among ruins under a tree, holding astride upon her knee the infant Christ, who looks up at her touch with a pleasing expression of childish impatience at being interrupted in his study of a scroll held by John. Mary's left hand lies on a sculptured stone, on which St. Joseph also leans with an expression of tender joy. The colouring is dark and dimmed by age and its purity is sacrificed to strong contrasts of light and shade. The execution of this painting is ascribed to Penni. Nothing is known of its history, save that it came to Spain in the time of Charles II.

Far more beautiful than this is another Madonna also in the Prado, "The Madonna of the Fish." This was painted for the chapel of Giovanni Battista del Duco at San Do-

menico in Naples. Who this man may have been who was able to induce Raphael to paint him a picture with his own hands at this crowded time, we do not know, but his influence must have been great. The Dominican order held in special veneration the memory of St. Jerome, and those with diseased eyes were accustomed to frequent this chapel for prayer, hence it was natural that the painter should introduce Tobias offering to Mary the fish whose gall cured his father's blindness. The boy is shy and afraid and has to be led forward by his protecting angel Raphael. The Virgin looks down with sublime kindness, and this, with the blessing conveyed by the outstretched hands of the Christ Child, show that the boy's wish has been granted. It is evident that this is but a momentary interruption to the reading of the Bible by St. Jerome, for he merely looks up from the page with a passing glance while the Child, rising in his Mother's lap, holds the book open with his left hand in order that the reading may not be stopped. The colouring of the picture is brilliant and rich, and save for the restorations necessitated by the decay of the original panel, from which the picture was transferred to canvas, the execution is wholly due to the hand of Raphael.

Another Holy Family of this period is the

"Madonna dell' Impannata," which was purchased from Raphael by Bindo Altoviti, whose palace was just across the river from Raphael's painting room. But even his wealth could not secure him a Madonna wholly executed by Raphael, though he was fortunate enough to secure his own portrait by the master's hand. In this picture emphasis is laid on the lowly origin of Joseph's family. The humble apartment is lighted by a single window, covered with a linen blind, from which the painting derived its name. A green curtain conceals the bed and the other furnishing is of a simple description. The garments are plain, though still of the usual brilliant and traditional colours. St. Elizabeth is taking the infant Christ from his Mother, and while he clings to the Virgin's bosom he turns to laugh at the young woman who stands behind and touches him. In the lower left hand corner the infant St. John, represented as much older than Christ, holds in one hand his cross of reeds, while with the other he points to the centre of the group. Beautiful as is the composition, and certain as we are that the design, which exists at Windsor, is Raphael's, the execution seems to be mainly by Giulio Romano and another of Raphael's pupils, with occasional touches by his own hand. The painting is far inferior to



MADONNA DELL' IMPANNATA (*about 1514*)
Pitti Palace, Florence

that of the banker's portrait painted at the same time, and that Bindo knew this seems to be proved by the fact that he quickly sold his "Holy Family" to the Grand Duke of Tuscany, while the portrait remained in his family until it was purchased for Crown Prince Ludwig of Bavaria in 1808.

This masterly portrait, now one of the ornaments of the Munich Pinakothek, has, by several authorities, been regarded as a portrait of Raphael himself, the evidence being a doubtful passage in Vasari in which the expression "his portrait" may be construed to refer to either Altoviti or Raphael. There seems to be no doubt, however, that Raphael's true likeness during the early part of his residence at Rome is given by the self-portrait in "The School of Athens." Grimm argues that this has been distorted by repainting, but a close inspection of the fresco would have left him no grounds for this statement. The indelible lines of the graver which transferred the cartoon to the wet plaster can be readily seen, and prove the authenticity of the likeness so clearly that no ground remains for believing the Munich portrait to be Raphael's own. It represents the young banker at the age of twenty-one, a noble and graceful figure transferred to canvas with delicate lines and limpid colours, affording full

proof that Raphael had not lost his skill in portrait painting, though he had so little chance to exercise it during his early Roman period. In fact, beside this and the portrait of Julius II we know of no other of this period except that of Duke Frederick of Mantua, which seems to have disappeared, although there is a statement that in the last century it was in the gallery of Mr. Lucy at Charlecote near Warwick in England.

One other piece of work accomplished by Raphael was begun at the request of John Goritz of Luxemburg, a prominent member of the papal court, and a great patron of the poets and artists of Rome. For him Raphael painted a fresco of Isaiah flanked by two cherubs, in the church of St. Augustine. According to the testimony of Vasari, this was nearly finished when, through the treachery of Bramante, who held the keys of the Sistine Chapel, Raphael was allowed to inspect Michelangelo's still unfinished frescos. The result was that he obliterated his work and repainted it from a wholly new design. There is no doubt that Raphael, whether before or after the public opening of the Sistine Chapel, had seen Michelangelo's work before painting the Isaiah. What little remains indicates a noble and grand conception, but time and the

restorer have almost obliterated the work. A repetition of the boy angel on the left is preserved in the Academy of St. Luke, to which it was given by the painter Wicar. This is a fragment of a fresco from the Vatican, where the two angels of the "Isaiah" were repeated, bearing the escutcheon of the Pope instead of garlands.

During the autumn of 1512 it is probable that Raphael was able to do but little work in the Vatican chambers. The increasing illness of the Pope, whose apartments were in the near vicinity, would probably cause his chamberlains to order a cessation of the more or less noisy labours attendant on the creation of frescos, and it is also likely that the probable fatal termination of the Pope's illness and the uncertainty of the policy of his successor would leave painter and court alike in uncertainty as to whether the work would be continued. By the end of the year his approaching end was certain, and on the 20th of February, 1513, Julius breathed his last, to be succeeded nineteen days later by Leo X.

CHAPTER VIII

RAPHAEL UNDER LEO X

GIOVANNI DE' MEDICI, Leo X, belonged to a family which for nearly a century had been leaders of men. His ancestors, Cosimo, Pietro, and Lorenzo the Magnificent, made Florence the greatest city of Italy and by their patronage fostered every variety of intellectual effort to the highest degree. The fortunes of the family increased to such an extent that Lorenzo was able to pay a fabulous sum, said to be two hundred thousand ducats in gold, in order that Giovanni might become a cardinal when he was but fifteen years of age. If later, fortune abandoned the family, Giovanni none the less, in his palace in Rome, remained an ardent patron of arts and letters. Happy it was for Raphael that Julius amassed treasures which permitted his successor to gratify to the fullest his love of magnificence.

As a matter of fact, the revenues of the church, enormous as they were, scarcely sufficed to meet Leo's expenses. He gave with-

out limit and he never scrupled to obtain money by any means in his power. The Venetian ambassador estimated that Leo's income was in the neighbourhood of four hundred thousand ducats; but half of this enormous sum went for table expenses, presents, and gambling. His presents to his friends and relatives were enormous. All of his Florentine friends were provided with places at his court. Every morning he had brought to him a dish lined with crimson velvet heaped full of gold coins, and before evening the dish was always empty. No wonder that he had to create additional cardinals and found orders of knighthood to provide places to be sold.

Nevertheless, the people of Rome were well satisfied with him. Festivals and processions were celebrated with the utmost lavishness. His displays created prosperity for the city and amusements for the citizens. He always had work for his painters; triumphal arches, scenery for his plays, decorations for the pontifical palace, were impartially ordered from the meanest and the greatest of painters. Raphael was not only commissioned to complete the Stanza and to decorate the Loggie, but when the Pope's elephant, presented by the King of Portugal, died in 1516, to appease the grief of the populace Raphael was

ordered to paint an enormous portrait of the beast on one of the towers of the Vatican.

This elephant had taken a prominent part in one of the most amazing of all the festivals arranged by Leo. The hero of this was Baraballo of Gaëta, a well-known poet. This rather insignificant individual was so sure of his own merits that he esteemed himself to be the equal of Petrarch and believed that he was worthy of being crowned on the Capitol. The Pope and his suite took up the idea and decided to perform the ceremony on the day of Sts. Cosmos and Damianus. To make the affair spectacular it was decided that Baraballo, dressed as a Roman general, should proceed to his triumph, mounted in state upon the elephant. The poet's family, who were of noble rank, wrote him frantically, imploring him to preserve his dignity, but he, believing that their messages were inspired by jealousy, replied only by insults and reproaches.

On the fateful day the old man, with snow white hair, magnificently clothed in gold and purple, was led to the Vatican and seated aloft on the gigantic quadruped. The procession through the streets of Rome was made memorable by the unbounded mirth of the populace, but Baraballo saw in their shouts and laughter and the derisive blare of the

trumpets only acclamations of his greatness; but alas, when the procession reached the bridge of St. Angelo, the elephant became so exasperated at the noisy reception that it knelt down and refused to proceed further, and poor Baraballo was forced to dismount from his perch and return disgraced to his home. The incident was perpetuated by a design of Raphael, executed in mosaic by Giovanni Barile over the door of the Camera della Segnatura, where we see the old poet enthroned on an elephant and designated by the inscription, "POETA BARABAL." Some have refused to believe that Raphael would lower himself to paint the picture of the elephant on the tower, and have ascribed the actual work to Giulio Romano, but if the Pope's chamberlain, Giovanni Battista dell' Aquila, had to feed the beast, though a nobleman, his painter would certainly feel no indignity in portraying it.

The private festivals were sometimes participated in by the Pope himself, who adored comedy, and the ambassador of the Duke of Ferrara wrote the following description of one of these social affairs at which he was present:

"I went last Sunday night to the comedy. Mgr. di Rangoni conducted me to a room in

which were the Pope and his cardinals, and in an antechamber Mgr. Cibo. His Holiness was walking about, and allowing those to be presented whose positions required it; when all had arrived we repaired to the hall prepared for the comedy. The Holy Father, placing himself near the door, noiselessly gave the benediction, and permitted those whom he chose to pass. In the hall itself the stage was on one side, on the other a dais on which was placed the Pope's throne. After the entrance of the laity the Pope took his seat, which was raised five steps above those of the cardinals and ambassadors. When all the spectators, numbering some two thousand, were seated, the music struck up and a curtain descended, upon which was represented Father Mariano with a crowd of devils gambolling around him. The Pope put on his spectacles, and admired the scene, which was painted by Raphael; it was a fine sight. His Holiness particularly admired the sky, which was admirably rendered. . . . The prologue ridiculed the name of the comedy, the 'Suppositi,' in a way which made the Pope as well as the spectators laugh heartily. From what I hear the French were somewhat scandalized at the subject of the play. It was very well acted, and between the parts there was music, fifes, bagpipes, cornets, violas,

and lutes, also a small organ, which had been presented to the Pope by Monsignore of happy memory. There was also a vocal chorus, which, in my opinion, was less successful. Lastly came the Moresco, which dealt with the story of the Gorgons. It was not acted with the perfection which is usual at the palace of your highness. Thus ended the fête. . . .

“Rome, 8 March, 1518.

“PAULUZO.”

The court of Leo was no less brilliant than that of his predecessor. Painters, sculptors, noblemen, churchmen, the great men of Julius' time were still largely in the front in the succeeding reign, and beside them we find others of the younger generation, among whom Raphael's pupils were conspicuous.

Foremost in luxury among the courtiers of Leo was Agostino Chigi, and some of the banquets given by him were as notable for luxury as were those of the most extravagant of the Roman emperors. In 1518 he entertained Leo, fourteen cardinals, and various ambassadors at a dinner served in the Chigi stables, which had just been completed by Raphael, but not yet put into use. The walls were hung with magnificent gold-embroidered

hangings to conceal the stalls, and on the floor was a silken Flemish carpet. The cost of the repast was two thousand ducats, and its magnificence so astonished the Pope that he said: "Agostino, your banquet has made me afraid of you." The banker replied that the place was more humble than one might think, and raised the hangings to show the real nature of the building, into which a hundred horses came as soon as the dinner guests departed.

At this dinner Chigi gave a very practical proof of his politeness. During the serving of the meal, eleven valuable silver dishes disappeared, having doubtless tempted some of the Pope's retinue, but Chigi ordered his household to conceal the fact rather than cause annoyance to his guests. At another banquet given later, Chigi played an amusing trick on his Papal guest. The table was set in a pavilion on the banks of the Tiber, and, as each course was served, the servitors, instead of carrying away the soiled silver dishes, tossed them over the bank into the river. Every one marvelled at the magnificence which was so scornful of plate worth a king's ransom, never dreaming that the yellow flood concealed nets stretched to catch the vessels, and that they would come safely ashore after the guests had departed.

After the death of Julius II Raphael had been for a time apprehensive that his work must stop and that his chances for success had vanished. Shortly before this Duke Frederick of Mantua had sat to him for a portrait and Raphael had retained his clothes to assist in the work. On the day after the death of Julius, Frederick's tutor wrote to his master as follows, "Messire Raphael of Urbino has returned me the vestment of Messire Federigo that he had taken for his portrait; he prays your Highness to forgive him, as at present it is impossible for him to rouse his spirit to continue the work." Though the portrait was finished, as we know, it was not with the clothes with which Frederick had sat to Raphael.

Raphael's spirits soon rose again. Many of his friends were elevated to high positions, and his acquaintances among the patriciate were as able and willing to help him as before. His noble manner, his capacity for work, and his willingness to execute whatever command was imposed upon him, endeared him to Leo X and procured his success, though perhaps sometimes at the expense of his artistic reputation. It had been better for him if he had remained more faithful to his brush. Bramante's death, however, which occurred soon

after the accession of Leo, left Raphael to shoulder alone the enormous tasks of the rebuilding of St. Peter's, in addition to which he became general superintendent of the fine arts, was put in charge of all the excavations of ancient Rome, and arranged the festivities of the court. No wonder that under this pressing burden he survived but a few years.

In spite of his politeness, Raphael was not always as complacent to the courtiers as to their master. Two cardinals, who visited his studio one day, displeased the painter by criticising his picture of St. Peter and St. Paul, finding that the faces of the apostles were too red. "Do not be surprised, Your Eminences, at that," retorted Raphael, "I painted them so deliberately; may we not think that they can blush in Heaven when they see their church governed by such men as you?" Not less bitter was his reply to Michelangelo, who one day met him in the street, followed by a numerous escort of assistants and students. Buonarroti sarcastically remarked, "You go about through the streets like a general," to which the gentle Raphael replied, "And you alone like the hangman."

It was not long after the accession of Leo that we find Raphael writing in happiest vein one of the few but characteristic letters of his

which have been preserved, and it is worthy of being reprinted in full:

“ TO MY DEAREST UNCLE, SIMONE DI BATTISTA
DI CIARLA IN URBINO.

“ Dearest in place of a father. I have received one of yours; most dear to me, because it assures me that you are not angry; which indeed would be wrong, considering how tiresome it is to write when one has nothing of consequence to say. But now, being of consequence, I reply to tell you as much as I am able to communicate.

“ At first in reference to taking a wife, I reply that I am quite content in respect of her, whom you first wished to give me, and I thank God constantly that I took neither her nor another, and in this I was wiser than you who wished me to take her. I am sure that you too are now aware that I would not have the position I now hold, since I find myself at this present in possession of things in Rome worth three thousand ducats in gold, and receipts of fifty scudi in gold, because His Holiness has given me a salary of three hundred gold ducats for attending to the building of St. Peter's, which I shall never fail to enjoy as long as my life lasts; and I am certain of getting others, and am also paid for what I do to what

amount I please, and I have begun to paint another room for His Holiness which will amount to one thousand two hundred ducats of gold. So that, dearest cousin, I do honour to you and all relatives, and to my country; yet for all that, I hold you dear in the centre of my heart, and when I hear your name, I feel as if I heard that of a father; and do not complain of me because I do not write, because I have to complain of you that you sit pen in hand all day, and let six months go by between one letter and the other. Still, with all that, you will not make me angry with you as you do wrongly with me.

“I have come fairly out of the matter of a wife, but, to return to that, I answer that you may know that Santa Maria in Porticu (Cardinal Bibiena) wants me to have one of his relatives, and with the assent of you and the cousin priest (Bartolommeo Santi) I promised to do what his reverend lordship wanted, and I cannot break my word. We are now more than ever on the point of settling, and presently I shall advise you of everything. Have patience, as the matter is in such a good way, and then should it not come off, I will do as you may wish, and know that if Francesco Buffa has offers for me, I have some of my own also, and I can find a handsome wife of

excellent repute in Rome as I have heard. She and her relatives are ready to give me three thousand gold scudi as a dowry, and I live in a house at Rome, and one hundred ducats are worth more here than two hundred there, of this be assured.

“As to my stay in Rome, I cannot live anywhere else for any time, if only because of the building of St. Peter’s, as I am in place of Bramante; but what place in the world is more worthy than Rome, and what enterprise more worthy than St. Peter’s, which is the first temple of the world and the largest building that has ever been seen, the cost of which will exceed a million in gold? And know that the Pope has ordered the expenditure on that building of sixty thousand ducats a year, and he never gives a thought to anything else. He has given me a companion, a most learned old friar of more than eighty years of age. The Pope sees that he cannot live long; he has resolved to give him to me as a companion, for he is a man of high reputation, and of the greatest acquirements, in order that I may learn from him, and if he has any secret in architecture that I may become perfect in that art. His name is Fra Giocondo; and the Pope sends for him every day and chats a little with us about the building.

"I beg you to be good enough to go to the Duke and Duchess and tell them this, as I know they will be pleased to hear that one of their servants does them honour, and recommend me to them as I continually stand recommended to you. Salute all friends and relatives for me, and particularly Ridolfo who has so much love for me.

"The first of July, 1514.

"Your RAPHAEL, painter in Rome."

The marriage mentioned in this letter to Maria da Bibiena, the grandniece of the cardinal, was never carried out. It is apparent that Raphael had consented to it rather through friendship for Bibiena than because of love for the young lady. Nevertheless, two years later the engagement still existed and his intimacy with Bibiena was as strong as ever. Maria was very delicate, and this fact may have hindered the consummation of the match, which was finally ended by the death of Maria, whose tomb faces that of Raphael in the Pantheon. It is very likely, however, that the strongest reason for Raphael's disinclination to marry Maria was his long attachment for his favourite, the Fornarina. About this attachment much has been written, but the actual facts which have come down to us are few. The

principal authority in the matter is Vasari, whose various statements are as follows:

“Il Baviera, his disciple, was the guardian of a certain lady, to whom Raphael was attached till the day of his death, and of whom he painted a most beautiful portrait, which might be supposed alive . . . (Raphael) also painted the portrait of Beatrice of Ferrara, with those of other ladies; that of his own innamorata is more particularly to be specified, but he also executed many others. He was much disposed to the gentler affections and delighted in the society of women, for whom he was ever ready to perform acts of service. But he also permitted himself to be devoted somewhat too earnestly to the pleasures of life, and in this respect was perhaps more than duly considered and indulged by his friends and admirers. We find it related that his intimate friend Agostino Chigi had commissioned him to paint the first floor of his palace, but Raphael was at that time so much occupied with the love which he bore to the lady of his choice that he could not give sufficient attention to the work. Agostino, therefore, falling at length into despair of seeing it finished, made so many efforts by means of friends and by his own care, that after much difficulty he at length prevailed on the lady to

take up her abode in his house, where she was accordingly installed in apartments near those which Raphael was painting; in this manner the work was ultimately brought to a conclusion. . . . The painter meanwhile did not abandon the light attachment by which he was enchained, and one day on returning to his house from one of these secret visits, he was seized with a violent fever, which being mistaken for a cold, the physicians inconsiderately caused him to be bled, whereby he found himself exhausted, when he had rather required to be strengthened. Thereupon he made his will, and, as a good Christian he sent the object of his attachment from the house, but left her a sufficient provision wherewith she might live in decency."

Raphael painted a famous portrait, now in the Barberini gallery, supposed to be that of his innamorata and generally known by the name of "La Fornarina," the baker's daughter. She was called Margherita, as appears from a note written in the 16th century in the margin of an early edition of Vasari, still preserved at Rome. A legend tells us that she lived in a house numbered 20 in the Via di Santa Dorotea, still occupied by a bakery known as "il forno della Fornarina."

"The beautiful young girl," says Passa-



LA FORNARINA (*about 1516*)
Barberini Palace, Rome

vant, "was very frequently in a little garden adjoining the house, where, the wall not being very high, it was easy to see her from outside. So the young men, especially artists — always passionate admirers of beauty — did not fail to come and look at her, by climbing up above the wall. Raphael is said to have seen her for the first time as she was bathing her pretty feet in a little fountain in the garden. Struck by her perfect beauty, he fell deeply in love with her, and after having made acquaintance with her, and discovering that her mind was as beautiful as her body, he became so much attached as to be unable to live without her."

Other local traditions tell us that the Fornarina later lived in the Vicolo del Cedro near San Egidio in Trastevere, and also in a house in the Palazzetto Sassi, which bears a tablet in the wall which says: "Tradition states that the one who became so dear to Raphael, and whom he raised to fame, lived in this house." It is noteworthy that all three of the houses thus distinguished are near buildings which Raphael decorated. It has recently been discovered by Lanciani, from a census return made in 1518, that one of the houses of the Sassi family was occupied by the baker Francesco from Siena, which is in full accordance with the tradition, and a further link in the chain

is given by an entry in the ledger of the Congregation of Sant' Apollonia in Trastevere, a refuge for repentant women. Under date of August 18th, 1520, about four months after Raphael's death, we read: "To-day has been received into our refuge the widow Margarita, daughter of the late Francesco Luti of Siena." The remarkable coincidence of dates and names leaves it very probable that this "widow" was the beautiful baker's daughter of Siena, the Fornarina, who was Raphael's companion and model, and to whom life in the world after his death possessed no attraction.

Among the portraits attributed to Raphael, no less than three have been considered to represent this mistress. The first, and that which has always been recognized as possessing the greatest claim to this distinction, is in the Barberini Palace at Rome. It represents a young girl of rich form and rather sensuous face, naked to the waist save for a filmy veil held to her breast, which conceals nothing of her beauties but what she wished to conceal. The face may be a trifle plebian and the nose large, but the carefully smoothed hair, the turban of rich stuff, and the golden bracelet on which Raphael, with loving care, has painted his full name, show that her station was, at the time the picture was painted, some-



LA DONNA VELATA (*about 1516*)
Pitti Palace, Florence

what more than that of a mere daughter of the people.

We see her portrait again in the Pitti as "*La Donna Velata*," the lady with the veil, this time fully clothed, in garments of the richest material and cut, and wearing a necklace of beautiful stones. The features, to be sure, are not absolutely identical, but seem more spiritual. The portrait may be somewhat idealized, but the eyes are certainly the same in the two portraits. It has been claimed that the veiled lady is not by Raphael at all, but by a Bolognese after Raphael's original. This might account for a certain loss in truth of portraiture, but I am inclined to believe that this picture is by Raphael's hand. It bears a marked resemblance to the face of the Virgin in the Sistine Madonna, although there it is much spiritualized, and is also repeated, in the "*St. Cecilia*" at Bologna and in the "*Madonna of Francis I*" in the Louvre. Stronger evidence we could not have that this lady was much in Raphael's thoughts, if she was so dear to him that he made her the original of his greatest Madonna.

One more painting has been called "*La Fornarina*." This is the beautiful and poetic head in the Tribune of the Uffizi, already mentioned in Chapter III. It certainly bears a

degree of resemblance to the Barberini portrait in the shape of the nose, the piercing directness of the eyes, the curve of the upper lip, and especially in the way the neck sets into the shoulders. The hair, however, is lighter and flows in soft waves, and the coronet of gold and enamelled leaves seems to suggest a higher rank than that of the peasant girl who was Raphael's love. Various suggestions have been made as to the original, among whom we may name Vittoria Colonna, the Duchess Elisabeth of Urbino, Beatrice d'Este, the wife of Lodovico Sforza, who, however, could not have been seen by Raphael at the age of the woman here represented, and Beatrice Pio of Ferrara, the latter attribution being based on Vasari's statement that Raphael painted the portrait of Beatrice Ferrarese. Raphael's authorship of this portrait is denied by many critics, who attribute it to Sebastian del Piombo.

Raphael's work during the remainder of his life covered so many fields that we will not attempt to take it up in chronological order, but will follow out to an end his work in each particular field of his activity. We shall not devote much space to the remainder of the paintings in the Stanze. They are of unequal merit and but little of the execution can be

traced to Raphael's hand. With the enormous amount of work he attempted to perform during the last eight years of his life, he could not spare the time to perform the manual labour required in executing the enormous frescos. He made sketches, part of the detail drawings, and perhaps some of the cartoons, but great portions of the work fell to the lot of his assistants and were merely supervised by him. The paintings in the third room, the Stanza del Incendio, are "The Fire in the Borgo," "The Battle of Ostia," "The Coronation of Charlemagne," and "The Oath of Leo III."

The first is the only one which can really be considered as a personal work of Raphael. In this the painter has taken an old legend of the church of little historical importance, and given it the strength of an epic. Some seven hundred years before Raphael's day Pope Leo IV, by making the sign of the cross, had stopped the progress of a conflagration which bade fair to completely destroy the Borgo quarter of Rome. This was hardly a subject calculated to inspire an artist of the Renaissance, or even to be recorded among the notable achievements of the church. But the artist's imagination has transmuted the insignificant subject into a masterly representation of the destruction of Troy. He has not hesi-

tated to introduce the magnificent group of Æneas bearing on his shoulders Anchises and accompanied by his wife and son. Instead of the mean quarters of plebeian Rome, we behold the magnificent palaces and temples of the storied city. Such walls could not burn, and the puny outburst of flames which the Pope is subduing in the background is but an insignificant episode.

But the work with all its merits has great faults. "In it," as Müntz says, "Raphael has renounced that unity of rhythm which has formerly ruled his compositions. Here, in place of a large and excited crowd, there are but a few groups, sometimes even solitary figures, all without any very intimate cohesion. Every one is thinking of himself, but not of his neighbour. Hence the scattered interest, which in some degree lessens the effect of the work. The individual figures are admirable — the weeping mothers, the desperate young man letting himself down by the wall, the water-carriers with robes blown about by the wind. Maternal solicitude, stupefaction, and individual heroism, are marvellously rendered; the energy of the expression is equalled only by the boldness of the design. The modelling is perfect, and Raphael shows, by the 'Incendio del Borgo,' that anatomy had no secrets from



THE FIRE IN THE BORGO (1514-1517)
Stanze of the Vatican, Rome

him. There is much in its *tours-de-force* which reminds us of Michelangelo. It is to be regretted that a motive more adapted for a melodrama than an epic should have been allowed to diminish the effect of so great a conception — we mean that of the mother who hands her infant over the wall to its father, who, escaping half-clothed, stands on tip-toe to receive the precious burden. Such an episode would not have been out of place in the naïve compositions of the Quattrocentisti, but it would have been better omitted from the Stanze of Raphael. The unity and harmony that are wanting in the foreground of the composition are to be found in full force in the farther groups. Painting has never given us a passage more warm in feeling or more pure in line than the group of women, who kneel beneath the balcony which supports the Pope. This scene is admirable both in expression and composition, and may be fairly compared to the finest passages in the Stanza della Segnatura."

Of the other three paintings in this chamber Raphael did little but the preliminary work. "The Battle of Ostia" was planned by him with great care, even the subsidiary figures having been drawn from life. As proof of this the Albertina in Vienna still possesses a

magnificent red chalk drawing of a detail made by Raphael and presented by him to Albrecht Dürer, which still bears the latter's autograph, testifying to this fact: "1515. Raphael of Urbino, who has been held in high esteem by the Pope, drew these naked figures and sent them to Albrecht Dürer of Nuremberg to show him his hand." In this picture it is Leo X and not Leo IV who is the true hero, sitting with his cardinals on the bank of the river to accept the submission of the defeated and prostrate enemy.

In "The Coronation of Charlemagne," Leo X replaces Leo III and Francis I Charlemagne. The costumes are contemporaneous and many of the participants are recognizable as personages of Raphael's time. The last fresco, "The Oath of Leo III," again portrays Leo X taking the oath before Charlemagne. This picture was apparently painted wholly by one of Raphael's assistants. The ceiling of the room still retains the weak and characterless decorations of Perugino, who nowhere appears more distinctly at a disadvantage, in contrast with his pupil, than in these poor productions.

The fourth Stanza, that of Constantine, has even a more remote connection with Raphael than the third. At the master's death in 1520,

the work had not been commenced, nor had the subjects even been definitely decided upon. Sebastian del Piombo, in a letter to Michelangelo, shortly before this time, states that four subjects had been chosen, but the list was afterward changed and only one of the frescos, "The Battle of Constantine," was even sketched by Raphael as it appears on the wall. In this his pupils seem to have carried out, in the main, his intentions, as is shown by the sketch in the Louvre, but in "The Vision of the Cross," very material alterations were made from Raphael's sketch. "The Battle of Constantine," despite the imperfections of its execution, is a work of great power. The tumult of a medieval battle is admirably represented. Our attention is not distracted by individual combats, but we get a genuine impression of a real melee, with all the confusion of mortal strife. The noble figure of the young emperor, who has made a way through the press into the foreground, is magnificently contrasted with the dying Maxentius, sinking beneath the muddy Tiber, at whom Constantine is about to hurl his javelin.

The state of the frescos in the last two rooms is deplorable, in fact, they were so ill executed, that within a few years after their completion it was necessary to restore them, and it is re-

corded that Sebastian del Piombo touched them up, especially "The Battle of Ostia," in numerous places. He was very proud of this and was one day showing his work to Titian; the latter, far from being pleased, was very much dissatisfied with the alteration and remarked, "Who is the arrogant and ignorant man who has thus dared to daub over these heads?" Dolce, who has recorded this, says with a pun that Sebastian, at these caustic words, became literally leaden (*del piombo*).

Leo X was so anxious to have the decoration of the Vatican completed that he set Raphael to work painting the Loggie before the completion of the Stanze. These Loggie are the galleries about the Court of San Damaso, which were commenced by Bramante in the reign of Julius II and completed after his death on Raphael's plans. The first story leads to the Borgia apartments and the second to the Stanze. Raphael's decorations consist of four pictures on the arched roofs of each of thirteen arcades. Of the fifty-two subjects, forty-eight are from the Old Testament and four from the New, and the series is usually known as Raphael's Bible.

The amount of work that Raphael did himself is in considerable doubt. He apparently furnished all of the sketches, but the cartoons

seem to have been made entirely by Giulio Romano, while the actual painting was entrusted to a large number of Raphael's pupils. The spaces between the pictures on the ceiling, the pilasters, the window and door frames, in fact the whole surface of the room is covered with arabesques, garlands, and other decorations of the most elaborate description and in endless variety. These designs have been an inexhaustible field for decorative artists from the time of their execution to the present day.

It would be useless for us to attempt to describe in detail these frescos, which are so ruined that many of them are scarcely discernible. Suffice it to say that Raphael interpreted the sacred scriptures in a wholly new fashion; while faithful in the last degree to the sacred texts, the pictures seem drawn with sole regard to composition, and the subjects selected are such as lend themselves excellently to the needs of the draughtsman. Some of the pictures can be referred back to previous versions, others are quite original in arrangement with Raphael, and it is not too much to say that these drawings furnished the inspiration for all illustrations of the Bible for centuries after they were painted. A complete list of subjects will be found in the list of pictures in the appendix.

The pupils of Raphael were very numerous, and though we know the names of many of them, no one has ever compiled a complete list. The favourite was Giulio Romano, who painted in both oil and fresco so nearly in the manner of Raphael that it is often impossible to distinguish the work of one from that of the other. One of his deficiencies, however, was the use of dark and heavy colours, especially of lampblack, while Raphael's palette is pure and brilliant. Next in favour and merit were two Florentines, Giovanni Francesco Penni, called "Il Fattore," and Perino del Vaga. The former seems to have been incapable of independent work, but the latter is known to have painted with distinct personality after his master's death. From northern Italy came Giovanni da Udine, a pupil of Giorgione, the engraver Agostino of Venice, and Polidoro Caravaggio; from Urbino, Girolamo Genga; and from Sodoma's workshop at Siena, Vincenzo Tamagni di San Gimignano. Among the others we may mention from Bologna the engraver, Marc Antonio Raimondi, Bartolommeo Ramenghi di Bagnacavallo, one of Francia's pupils, and Tommaso Vincidore, who went to Flanders in 1520 to oversee the weaving of the tapestries; from Modena, Carlo Pellegrino Munari; from Carpi, the engraver

Ugo; from Parma, Baviera; from Salerno, Andrea Sabattini, and from Flanders Bernard van Orley. We may also name among his pupils the Florentine sculptor, Lorenzetto, and the architects Aristotele and Gianfrancesco da Sangallo.

Raphael's method of work with his pupils was such as to bring out the very best that in them lay. He was quick at perceiving their capabilities and gave them the work which they could do best. Not only did they paint and draw under his superintendence, but he did not hesitate to allow them to work side by side with him on the most important work. Naturally, under these circumstances, there was a close friendship between master and scholar and also in the ranks of the scholars themselves. They held together for many years after his death, in some cases they married into each other's families, and as late as 1542 several of his pupils were among the distinguished artists who founded, perhaps in Raphael's memory, the corporation called the "Congregazione dei Virtuosi" which is still in existence.

Another set of frescos in the Vatican was painted by Raphael for Cardinal Bibiena, but has been inaccessible for many years, though in 1835 Passavant states that they still

existed but were covered by a wooden false wall. This is not on the whole surprising, when we consider that the decoration contains seven large panels depicting the history of Venus and Cupid and seven smaller ones showing the triumphs of love. These are set in the midst of decorations suggested by the frescos of Pompeii, and purely classical in spirit. The designs have been preserved in engravings by Raimondi and others.

For Leo X Raphael performed another feat of decorative work of very great importance. This was the production of a series of cartoons for tapestry. The Sistine Chapel, erected by Sixtus IV, had received decorations in frescos at the hands of many artists, culminating with the magnificent ceiling of Michelangelo. In order to give the final touch to the decorations, Leo X decided to have ten pieces of tapestry woven in Flanders to cover the lower portions of the walls, and it was for these that Raphael prepared the designs. The ten subjects were chosen from the Acts of the Apostles, and the general opinion is that they are not rich enough in most instances to fulfil the ideal conditions for tapestry designs, which for satisfactory results require crowded compositions and rich costumes and architecture.

The order was probably given in 1514 and

the cartoons were apparently complete by the end of 1516. For the ten designs Raphael was paid a thousand ducats, or in the neighbourhood of \$10,000. The work of weaving was done in Brussels, probably by Peter Van Aelst, and required between three and four years. The first seven were hung in the Sistine Chapel in December, 1519, and the remaining three the next year. This seems remarkably expeditious, for Müntz states that under Louis XIV it took the Gobelins factory ten years to produce a set of about equal importance. The cost of production was enormous, being set by the Venetian Marc Antonio Michiel, whose authority was Leo X himself, as fifteen hundred ducats apiece, while Paris di Grassis, the Pope's chamberlain, sets the cost at twenty thousand ducats, or two hundred thousand dollars, this figure including Raphael's compensation.

When the tapestries were first exhibited in Rome, the whole papal court lavished praise upon them. "The whole chapel," says Paris di Grassis, "was struck dumb by the sight of these hangings; by universal consent there is nothing more beautiful in the world; they are each worth two thousand ducats." And Vasari, a generation after, is no less enthusiastic in his admiration: "This work was so admi-

rably executed that it awakened astonishment in all who beheld it and it still continues to do so; for the spectator finds it difficult to conceive how it has been found possible to have produced such hair and beards by weaving, or to have given so much softness to the flesh by means of thread, a work which certainly seems rather to have been performed by miracle than by the art of man, seeing that we have here animals, buildings, water, and innumerable objects of various kinds, all so well done that they do not look like a mere texture woven in a loom, but like paintings executed with the pencil."

The later history of these tapestries is sad. After the death of Leo X they were pawned for five thousand ducats. When the French sacked Rome in 1527 they received still worse treatment, for one, "The Punishment of Elymas," was cut into fragments that it might be more easily sold. Two of them went as far as Constantinople, where they remained more than a quarter of a century before being brought back. For the next two centuries and a half they remained in Rome. Louis XIV had copies in oil made, which were used at the Gobelins as patterns for a set now belonging to the French nation, and were afterwards hung in the cathedral at Meaux. In 1798, the

originals were again captured by a French army and sold at auction. The brokers who bought them took them first to Genoa and then to Paris, where they were exhibited, but in 1808 they were restored to the Pope and still remain in the Vatican, though in a sadly faded condition.

The fate of the cartoons was not much better. Leo X apparently cared nothing for them and they remained in the possession of the Flemish weavers, who used them over and over again as patterns for anybody who had the means to purchase copies; the beautiful borders were also employed to grace other subjects. Only one cartoon returned to Italy, that of the "Conversion of St. Paul," which was in the possession of Cardinal Grimani in Venice in the early part of the sixteenth century. "The Martyrdom of St. Stephen" and "St. Paul in Prison" completely disappeared. The other seven were discovered in Brussels by Rubens in the time of Charles I, and were purchased by the king and copied by the English royal tapestry factory at Mortlake. Strange to say, when the unfortunate king's collections were auctioned, Cromwell paid three hundred pounds for the cartoons. In the reign of William III, the numerous pieces into which they had been cut for convenience in copying

were mounted on canvas and the cartoons now form one of the chief possessions of the South Kensington Museum. Though the colours are faded, and the pictures disfigured by use and cutting, they still retain much of their beauty.

The first tapestry represents "The Miraculous Draught of Fishes." St. Peter and St. Paul in a small boat are represented as adoring Christ, while their companions in another draw the net. The background is a peaceful landscape, while on the shore in the foreground are three cranes. All is strongly realistic and beautifully limned.

Of similar simplicity is the second subject, "Christ's Charge to Peter." The kneeling saint receives his Master's message in faith and humility, while the apostles listen with various expressions. Every figure is strongly characterized and the massing is beautiful and harmonious. Again a lovely landscape forms the background.

In the "Healing of the Lame Man" the background is architectural, the composition being divided into three portions by twisted columns copied from the Vatican basilica. Here the action is lively, the space well filled and the qualities excellently suited to a woven representation. In the centre is the cripple about to be healed. At the left his companion



THE MIRACULOUS DRAUGHT OF FISHES (1515-1516)
Vatican, Rome

awaits his turn to be cured, while at the right the delightful grace of the playing children offsets the pathos of the cripples.

Another masterly piece of design is the "Death of Ananias." The apostles on the dais look at Peter's outstretched hand, which has brought down the vengeance of heaven, with horror or amazement. The dying man writhes in the foreground. The spectators who are about to help him recoil when finding it is too late, or seem to approve the vengeance as just. Every figure is full of life and the grouping forms a masterly oval within a rectangle.

"The Stoning of Stephen" does not seem to be quite as successful a design. The introduction of the angels takes away some of the naturalistic feeling and the figures are not as convincing. The same is true of the "Conversion of St. Paul." The horses and their riders have little of the masterly qualities displayed in the "Expulsion of Heliodorus," and this, like the preceding, may probably be attributed in large part to Raphael's pupils.

More successful, however, is "The Punishment of Elymas." Here we have a magnificent interior, with the Roman governor seated upon his chair of office surrounded by his councillors. The magnificent figure of St. Paul,

stately and upright, contrasts most forcibly with the blinded sorcerer, groping before him seeking for some one to guide him. Again the spectators greatly aid in the telling of the story by their illuminating gestures.

Another transcription of pagan civilization, striving with the new faith of Christianity, is represented in "Paul and Barnabas at Lystra." Here the cripple, who has been cured by Paul and Barnabas, has aroused his fellow townsmen to proclaim the apostles as gods. The sacrificial ox has been brought to the altar and the priest is just in the act of sacrificing the beast to Jupiter and Mercury, as whom the apostles are recognized, when they protest against the idolatrous proceedings and Paul tears his robes in humiliation. This is another example of Raphael's method of contrasting violent action and gesture on one side of a picture, with quiet and repose on the other. The number of incidents comprised in this picture is marvellous, but they are successfully fused into a strong and coherent composition.

The narrow panel of "St. Paul in Prison," in which the earthquake by which he was released is typified by a giant bursting his way through the earth in the foreground, while the saint peers through bars in the background, is of little interest and is probably pupils' work.



THE HEALING OF THE LAME MAN (1515-1516)
Vatican, Rome

The last of the series, "Paul Preaching at Athens," is a faithful and literal transcript of the scriptures. The impassioned attitude of the apostles seems to be making little impression on the spectators, save for the two mentioned in the scriptures, Dionysius and Damaris, who applaud him in the foreground. All of the tapestries are enriched with beautiful borders in which, in place of the traditional garlands of fruit and flowers, we find masterly reproductions of historical and mythological events in simulated bas-relief, together with armorial panels, arabesques and classical figures.

Raphael seems to have undertaken designs for other tapestries, representing "The Coronation of the Virgin" and the "Life and Death of Christ," but nothing more than sketches could have been made by him, and the cartoons of these as well as of those depicting "Loves Playing" were executed by his pupils, particularly by Giulio Romano, to whom are attributed the designs for more than a hundred tapestries.

Another department of design into which Raphael made one or two excursions was that of *orfèvrerie*. For Agostino Chigi he designed two bronze dishes which were executed by a Perugian goldsmith named Rossetti. The

dishes have not survived, but the designs, composed of classical figures, have been preserved at Oxford and Dresden. He also designed a beautiful vase supported by female figures, which was engraved by Marc Antonio and may have been intended for Francis I.



PAUL PREACHING AT ATHENS (1515-1516)
Vatican, Rome

CHAPTER IX

RAPHAEL AND CHIGI — RAPHAEL AS ARCHITECT

OTHER than the two Popes, Raphael's most influential customer and friend was the banker Agostino Chigi, who was not only a man of great wealth but an admirer of art and an individual of taste. Shortly after Raphael's arrival in Rome, Chigi commenced the erection of a magnificent villa in the Trastevere. The work took a number of years and it was not until towards the beginning of 1512 that the admiring public of Rome were admitted to see its marvels. Nothing was too rich or sumptuous for its furnishings; precious metals and stones, ivory, tapestry and silk were everywhere to be seen, and nothing which Chigi could acquire to please his taste or increase his reputation was neglected. Many artists worked for him and it was not strange that, as Raphael's reputation increased, he employed him often. The first important piece of work done for Chigi was the "Triumph of Galatea," which was painted in fresco in one of the rooms of the new villa. Formerly it was believed

that this was painted before the completion of the villa, perhaps as early as 1511, but evidence that it was probably painted about 1514 is given by the well-known letter written to Count Baldassare Castiglione, which though not dated, was written soon after Raphael's nomination to the position of chief architect of St. Peter's, or about the middle of 1514.

“SIGNOR COUNT,

“I have made designs in several styles following the ideas of your lordship, to the satisfaction of everybody, if every one does not flatter me. Yet I have not satisfied my own judgment because I fear I shall not satisfy yours. I send them to you that your lordship may choose from them if you think that any of them are worthy of your acceptance. Our lord the Pope in honouring me has imposed a great burden on my shoulders, this is the care of the fabric of St. Peter's. I hope I shall not fail in it; the more so as the model which I have made pleases his Holiness and is praised by many distinguished persons, but my thoughts rise higher. I wish to discover the beautiful forms of ancient edifices, but know not if my flight shall be like that of Icarus. Vitruvius gives me much light but still not enough.



THE TRIUMPH OF GALATEA (1514)
Villa Farnesina, Rome

"As to the 'Galatea' I should think myself a great master if it possessed one half of the many merits of which you write; but in your words I recognize the love you bear me and I tell you that to paint a beautiful woman I should need to see many, with the further condition that you should be with me to choose the most beautiful. But as both good judgment and beautiful women are rare I must make use of a certain ideal which presents itself to my mind. Whether this in itself has any artistic excellence I know not, but I do my best to attain it.

"I commend myself to your lordship,

"From Rome.

"RAPHAEL."

The source from which the painter drew his inspiration for the "Galatea" has been disputed. There have been assigned as sources the "Icones" of Philostratus and the "Golden Ass" of Apuleius, but it is more likely that it was inspired by Politian's stanzas on Galatea in his poem the "Giostra," which was published in 1494 and had passed through ten editions by 1515. He describes to us Galatea refusing the favours of Polyphemus and sailing away upon a car drawn by two dolphins, while tritons and nymphs play about

her. The beautiful work is a true revival of the antique spirit and breathes in every detail a classical atmosphere.

In regard to Raphael's letter, one sentence has been much commented upon, that in which Raphael says that as models are scarce he is obliged to use a certain ideal of his imagination. Some writers believe that they discover here the beginning of an idealistic tendency in art and hence the germs of decay. Raphael, however, was neither as metaphysical nor as advanced in tendency as this argument would indicate. His meaning was simply that he found it extremely difficult to find models who measured up to his standard of beauty and so painted the faces before him as he imagined they should look. We are able to trace this in the evolution of the Sistine Madonna from the Roman woman whose real portrait appears in "*La Donna Velata*;" the features are the same, but the artist's mind has obliterated the casual defects and produced, with nature as a basis, the perfected nature which is the ideal.

Chigi was so fond of the classical that he desired it should appear even in his religious memorials. At Santa Maria della Pace he caused to be painted the "*Prophets*" and the "*Sibyls*," the former by Timoteo Viti, the latter by Raphael, and at Santa Maria del Popolo

he had executed, under the guise of mosaic figures of the planets, representations of the gods of Olympus. The sibyls were regarded by Vasari, as "the most beautiful figures ever painted by the master," and the painting is certainly, in arrangement and details, among its author's great achievements. In grace and nobility the younger sibyls are even finer than the Muses in the "Parnassus," while the aged and worn Tiburtina, wan and haggard, peering with dim eyes and fearful glance into the future, is a powerfully dramatic figure. In no respect can we say that Michelangelo was copied in the slightest degree; yet the inspiration for these figures must have come from him, and from him comes the innovation of giving to each sibyl an attendant genius to bear her book of prophecies. These winged figures add grace to the composition and detract from the stiffness.

Of this picture Cinelli, a seventeenth-century writer, tells the following anecdote, which displays in a happy light the inherent nobility of character of Michelangelo and shows that whatever petty jealousies may have existed between him and Raphael, each respected the other and judged him at his true worth.

"Raphael of Urbino had painted for Agostino Chigi, at Santa Maria della Pace, some

Prophets and Sibyls, on which he had received an advance of five hundred scudi. One day he demanded of Agostino's cashier (Giulio Borghese) the remainder of the sum at which he estimated his work. The cashier being astonished at his demand, and thinking that the sum already paid was sufficient, did not reply. 'Cause the work to be estimated by a judge of painting,' replied Raphael, 'and you will see how moderate my demand is.'

"Giulio Borghese thought of Michelangelo for this valuation, and begged him to go to the church and estimate the figures of Raphael. Possibly he imagined that self-love, rivalry and jealousy would lead the Florentine to lower the price of the pictures.

"Michelangelo went, accompanied by the cashier, to Santa Maria della Pace, and as he was contemplating the fresco without uttering a word, Borghese questioned him. 'That head,' replied Michelangelo, pointing to one of the sibyls, 'that head is worth a hundred scudi!' 'And the others?' asked the cashier. 'The others are not worth less.'

"Some one who witnessed this scene related it to Chigi. He heard every particular, and ordering in addition to the five hundred scudi for five heads, a hundred scudi to be paid for each of the other heads, he said to his cashier,



THE FOUR SIBYLS (1514)
Church of S. Maria della Pace, Rome

'Go and give that to Raphael in payment for his heads, and behave very politely to him, so that he may be satisfied; for if he insists on my paying also for the drapery, we should probably be ruined.' "

In the dome of the chapel in which Chigi was afterwards buried in Santa Maria del Popolo, were represented in mosaic from Raphael's designs God the Father and the creation of the planets, the former filling the top of the dome, and the latter, eight square panels around the sides. Here we see the Olympian deities representing the seven planets, each accompanied by its moving angel, an idea taken from Dante's "Convito," where the poet describes angels and archangels as moving the moon and the planets. According to the plans of Raphael this chapel was also to contain in mosaic the history of Adam from his creation to his fall; the prophecy of the coming of Christ in the form of four marble statues of prophets to be carved by himself; and finally the fulfilment of the prophecies in three great frescos of the Birth, Death, and Resurrection of Christ. Of this ambitious plan he achieved only the cartoons for the mosaics for the dome and the modelling of the statues of Jonah and Elijah, which were carved in marble by Lorenzetto.

Raphael's final work for Chigi was again an incursion into the realms of the antique. Taking as the basis of his work a translation of the "Metamorphoses" of Apuleius by Beroaldus, he chose a number of subjects from the story of Cupid and Psyche. Apuleius did not render this myth in its primitive form, and, to say the least, is not respectful in his treatment of the deities of Olympus. Raphael did not follow his guide, but made a much more delightful and eloquent poem than can be found in the Latin author. The gods of Olympus here live again in all their ancient grace and vitality, and never were decorative compositions more fittingly adapted to spaces. The triangular pendentives for the arches, though difficult to fill, seem the ideal shape for these wonderful compositions. In them were painted ten subjects as follows: "Venus pointing out Psyche to the arrows of Love;" "Cupid showing Psyche to the Graces;" "Venus reproaching Juno and Ceres for protecting Psyche;" "Venus drawn by Doves;" "Venus a suppliant to Jupiter;" "Mercury sent in pursuit of Psyche;" "Psyche with the water of the Styx;" "Psyche giving the water of the Styx to Venus;" "Jupiter embracing Cupid;" "Mercury carrying Psyche to Olympus."



CUPID SHOWING PSYCHE TO THE GRACES (1516-1517)
Villa Farnesina, Rome

The flat centre of the ceiling is devoted to two large compositions, "Psyche in Olympus" and the "Marriage of Psyche," and in the lunettes over the windows were placed fourteen representations of the "Triumphs of Love." It was most unfortunate that when Raphael designed these compositions he was so overwhelmed with work that he was able to do personally very little of the painting. The cartoons were his, but the only portion of the work executed by his own hands is the back of one of the three Graces in the second subject. The rest of the work was executed by Giulio Romano, Francesco Penni, and Giovanni da Udine. The heavy hand of these pupils destroyed the delicacy of the drawings and the beauty of the tones, and there is no doubt that Raphael's reputation suffered when these pictures were exhibited, a fact which received expression in contemporary letters which have been preserved. To-day, we are able to see the master's intention through the pupils' imperfections and restore these noble frescos to their proper position.

It will be remembered that in Raphael's letter to Count Castiglione, he mentioned that he had been appointed to the charge of the works of St. Peter's. Bramante, who died March 11th, 1514, had on his death bed recommended

Raphael as the proper person to succeed him in his work. Before making this appointment, however, the Pope desired to have some proof of Raphael's capacity and asked him to submit plans and estimates of cost. In order to show what he would do, Raphael had a wooden model of his proposed basilica constructed and because of the admiration this aroused, he was appointed superintendent of the work by the following papal bull promulgated August 1st, 1514:

“ TO RAPHAEL OF URBINO: — Besides the art of painting, in which you are universally known to excel, you were, by the architect Bramante, equally esteemed for your knowledge in that profession; so that when dying, he justly considered that to you might be confided the construction of that temple, which by him was begun in Rome to the prince of the apostles; and you have learnedly confirmed that opinion by the plan for that temple requested of you. We, who have no greater desire than that the temple should be built with the greatest possible magnificence and despatch, do appoint you superintendent of that work, with the salary of three hundred golden crowns per annum out of the money laid aside for the said construction. And we order that



MERCURY CARRYING PSYCHE TO OLYMPUS (1516-1517)
Villa Farnesina, Rome

you be paid punctually every month, or on your demand, the proportion due. We exhort you to undertake the charge of this work in such a manner, that in executing it you have due regard to your own reputation and good name, for which things the foundation must be laid in youth. Let your efforts correspond to our hope in you, to our paternal benevolence towards you, and lastly, to the dignity and fame of that temple, even the greatest in the whole world, and most holy; and to our devotion for the prince of the apostles!

“Rome, August 1st, the second year of our pontificate.”

Raphael's co-workers in the construction of St. Peter's were Giuliano da Sangallo and Fra Giocondo, the first being seventy years of age and the latter nearly ninety. Naturally they could not expect long life, and in fact the first died in 1516 and the old monk within a year after Raphael's appointment. The latter was not willing to bear the whole burden of the work alone and requested the Pope to appoint another assistant, which he did in the person of Antonio da Sangallo. While the previous coadjutors had received the same salary as Raphael, Antonio was given but half as much.

That Raphael early possessed architectural knowledge is evident from the beautiful temple drawn by him in the "Marriage of the Virgin," and also from the successful architectural perspective in many of his other works. When he came to Rome he continued to study architecture with enthusiasm and doubtless did much work with his fellow townsman Bramante, to whom is ascribed the temple shown in the "School of Athens." This comradeship accounts for Bramante's recommendation, and proofs of Raphael's ability in this direction were not lacking, for he had already planned more than one building in Rome. His first effort in this direction is probably the little church of St. Aloysius degli Orefici at Rome, which was begun in 1509. The building is almost a replica of Bramante's design for St. Peter's. After this he had planned the Chigi chapel and restored the church of Santa Maria in Dominica, from which Leo X had taken his title as cardinal. He had also diligently studied the great fount of authority in classic architecture, Vitruvius, who had been translated from Latin into Italian for him by Fabio Calvo of Ravenna. The original manuscript of this translation still exists in the Royal Library at Munich and contains the following colophon: "The end of the book of Vitruvius

the architect, translated from Latin into the vulgar tongue by Marco Fabio Calvo of Ravenna, at Rome in the house and at the request of Raphael, son of Giovanni Santi of Urbino." Some interesting details about Calvo and Raphael are given in a letter from Calcagnini, the Pope's first secretary, to the mathematician Ziegler, written in 1519:

"Fabius of Ravenna is an old man of stoical probity, and of whom it would be difficult to say whether his learning or affability is the greater. Through him Hippocrates speaks Latin, and has laid aside his ancient defective expressions (an allusion to the translations of the middle ages). This most holy man has this peculiar and very uncommon quality, of despising money so much as to refuse it when offered to him, unless forced to accept it by the most urgent necessity. However, he receives from the Pope an annual pension, which he divides among his friends and relations. He himself lives on herbs and lettuces, like the Pythagorians, and dwells in a hole which might justly be named the tub of Diogenes. He would far rather die than not pursue his studies; and die is really the word, for the old man of eighty years old is suffering from a serious and even dangerous illness. He is cared for

as a child by the very rich Raphael da Urbino, who is so much esteemed by the Pope; he is a young man of the greatest kindness and of an admirable mind. He is distinguished by the highest qualities. Thus he is, perhaps, the first of all painters, as well in theory as in practice; moreover he is an architect of such rare talent, that he invents and executes things which men of the greatest genius deemed impossible. I make an exception only in Vitruvius, whose principles he does not teach, but whom he defends or attacks with the surest proofs, and with so much grace that not even the slightest envy mingles in his criticism. At present he is occupied with a wonderful work, which will be scarcely credited by posterity (I do not allude to the basilica of the Vatican, where he directs the works), it is the town of Rome which he is restoring in almost its ancient grandeur; for, by removing the highest accumulations of earth, digging down to the lowest foundations, and restoring everything according to the descriptions of ancient authors, he has so carried the Pope Leo and the Romans along with him, as to induce every one to look on him as a god sent from heaven to restore to the ancient city her ancient majesty. With all this he is so far from being proud, that he comes as a friend to every one, and

does not shun the words and remarks of any one; he likes to hear his views discussed in order to obtain instructions and to instruct others, which he regards as the object of life. He respects and honours Fabius as a master and a father; speaking to him of everything and following his counsels." This letter written towards the close of Raphael's life, contains reference to another project of Raphael's which I shall shortly consider. In the meantime let us return to his architectural work.

The model of St. Peter's executed for Raphael by Giovanni Barile has perished, but a plan of Raphael's project was published by Serlio, although unfortunately not correctly. His plan was to change St. Peter's from the Greek cross proposed by Bramante to a Latin cross, and to do this he intended to add four new bays to the nave. This was resisted with such violence by Antonio da Sangallo, that it was given up, though adopted in the seventeenth century by Maderno, who, however, built only three bays instead of four. Whatever Raphael's plans may have been, the changes accomplished by him in fact are few and unimportant. This was due to the circumstance that Bramante's columns intended to support the dome were far too weak to sustain the load proposed for them, and therefore,

Raphael and his colleagues worked for years and spent enormous sums of money in building new foundations below the central piers, so that at the death of Raphael, six years after he succeeded to the work, hardly any visible progress had been made in the construction of the edifice.

Another architectural work of the Pope was the completion of the court of San Damaso in the Vatican. This is the part of the palace containing the Loggie and the first two stories had been planned and probably completed by Bramante. To them Raphael added a third story supported by columns; the addition of this extra story, for which the foundations had not been planned, seriously influenced the safety of the structure, so that on the very night of Raphael's death the walls cracked and it was feared that the whole edifice was about to fall. It was necessary to brick up the open arches of the lower floor, and this fact seems to explain the passage of Vasari in which he tells us, that Raphael, for the convenience of certain among his friends, commanded the masons to leave certain spaces and apertures on the lower floors.

Raphael also drew plans for a number of other edifices, such as the Villa Madama on Monte Mario, the Chigi stables, the Aquilla

palace and several others in Rome, and the beautiful Pandolfini palace at Florence. His architecture is generally successful and is especially beautiful in its mouldings and minor details, which have a grace and purity of line which has rarely been surpassed in the history of architecture. He worthily carried on the traditions of Bramante and his forerunners, and the world undoubtedly lost, in Raphael, a great architect *in posse* as well as a great painter *in esse*.

In connection with his works at St. Peter's, Raphael needed great quantities of marble, and like all other builders of medieval Rome, did not scruple to employ the apparently inexhaustible remains of ancient buildings, but, unlike the average builder, Raphael had become imbued with a love for the art of antiquity and realized the great artistic and historical value of the ruins. He, therefore, earned for ever the gratitude of archeologists when he persuaded the Pope to issue the following bull:

“TO RAPHAEL OF URBINO:—It is of the greatest importance for the works of the Roman temple of the prince of the apostles that the stones and marbles, of which a large number are required, should be obtained easily

from places near us. And since we know that the Roman ruins yield them abundantly, and that both those who build in Rome and in its environs, and those who are engaged in making excavations, find marbles of all kinds abundantly and in all directions among the ancient ruins, I grant to you, being architect in chief of St. Peter's, the general inspection of all excavations and discoveries of stones and of marbles which shall be henceforward made in Rome, and within a circumference of ten miles, in order that you may purchase what may be necessary for the construction of the new temple.

“To this end I command every one, of whatever condition or rank he may be, noble or not, titled or of a low estate, to make you, as superintendent of this matter, acquainted with every stone or marble which shall be discovered within the extent of country designated by me, who desire that every one failing to do so shall be judged by you, and fined from 100 to 300 gold crowns.” And further on: “As moreover it has been reported to me that workers in marble carelessly use and cut antique marbles, without regard to the inscriptions which are engraven thereon, and which contain certain monuments important to be preserved for the study of the Latin language and learn-

ing, I prohibit all who belong to this profession from sawing or cutting any written stones, without your order of permission; and I desire that if they do not obey they shall be subjected to the same penalty.

“Rome, this 27th August, in the third year of our pontificate.”

This letter hardly, as has often been asserted, made Raphael director of antiquities, for such a post was not created or needed until long after. Antique statues, though numerous in Rome at Raphael's time, were largely in the possession of private individuals, and only a few, though some of the greatest, belonged to the papal collection. The bull nevertheless enabled Raphael to pursue, without restriction, his researches into ancient architecture and archeology, in which he was often aided by Count Castiglione and his friend Fulvio. His enthusiasm in this respect was so great that he conceived a remarkable plan for the restoration of Rome, which has been preserved to us in a report made to the Pope in 1518 or 1519. In this he proposed to record the dimensions of every ancient Roman building still in existence, and from these to reconstruct the capital of the Cæsars. Two copies of this report have come down to us, differing slightly in de-

tail, one having been found among the papers of Count Castiglione, and the other in those of Fulvio.

In this document Raphael becomes enthusiastic about the remains of antiquity and shows his indignation against those who have destroyed them. Goths and Vandals, however, were not the only destroyers, and he courageously called the attention of the Pope to the fact that the very men who should most vigorously have preserved the relics of Rome had been most active in destroying her. "How many Popes, Most Holy Father, gifted with the same dignity as yourself, but not your knowledge, your intellect, nor your greatness of mind, have allowed the destruction of ancient temples, of statues, of arches, and other noble structures which proclaimed the glory of their builders? How many of them have permitted the foundations of ancient structures to be brought to light for the sake of the *pozzolana* and have thus led to the collapse of the buildings themselves? How many statues and other ancient carvings have been burnt to make lime? I make bold to declare that all this new Rome which we see to-day, in its grandeur and beauty, in its palaces and churches, has been cemented with lime made from ancient marble."

He goes on to classify the styles of architecture which had prevailed in previous epochs and in this he broke new ground, for no previous writer seems to have been able to discriminate between or to have even recognized the qualities of various periods. He lavishes the greatest praise upon the first period, and remarks that among the Romans architecture did not suffer from the decadence which attacked painting and sculpture.

"We must not think that the latest works of antiquity are less beautiful or coarser in style, for all are nearly equal in this respect. And although the ancients themselves restored many buildings, as for instance, they constructed, on the site of Nero's Golden House, the baths and palace of Titus and the amphitheatre, the latter constructions were of the same style as Nero's old buildings or the earlier ones. Though science, sculpture, painting, and other arts underwent a steady decline up to the time of the last emperors, architecture constantly preserved the high level of good taste initiated by the earliest practitioners and was the last of the arts to perish.

"This fact is proved by many monuments, notably by the Arch of Constantine. While the architecture of this is irreproachable, its carvings, executed at the same period, are un-

successful and lacking in every artistic sentiment, while those of the arches of Trajan and Antoninus are excellently carved and perfect in style. The same may be perceived in the baths of Diocletian; here the carvings are coarse and tasteless and the paintings can bear no comparison with those of the epoch of Trajan and Titus, yet their architecture is noble and well conceived."

Raphael deplores the declining taste of the Middle Ages beginning with the invasions of the Goths. According to him, Gothic art has no good qualities. He sees nothing beautiful in it nor in the works of Renaissance, his only word of commendation for them being that in externals they resemble the classics, but because of cheaper materials could not equal the ancient work in beauty. He goes on to speak of the external forms which should be given to the buildings of his restoration, enumerating the classic orders. His project excited great attention throughout Europe and there is no doubt that but for his untimely death, his enthusiasm would have led him to attack this great problem, the restoration of the Eternal City, of which so many men since him have dreamed.

CHAPTER X

PAINTINGS OF RAPHAEL'S LAST YEARS

DURING the pontificate of Leo X there were executed, under Raphael's direction, a very large number of pictures. Few works of this period were wholly painted by Raphael; many of his compositions were started by himself and finished by a weaker hand, and others owe perhaps only their idea and composition to his mind. A detailed critical study of these works has been made by various investigators, but after digesting their contradictory statements, the average reader will probably wonder if Raphael ever painted any pictures himself. The modern critic is often singularly lacking in enthusiasm, and it seems to be easier and more conducive to reputation to deny, and to make new attributions, than to believe. It is, of course, unnecessary to be as credulous as Passavant, who has enthusiastically ascribed to Raphael numerous doubtful works, but it is interesting to note that the latest tendency is again to acknowledge as works of Raphael

some which have been denied as works of his brush by eminent critics.

The most notable characteristic of the works of this period is that the painter has, in most instances, abandoned the simplicity of composition of which he was so fond earlier in his career. A few of his later religious works contain but two principal figures, but many more include the infant St. John, and in his latest works a large number of persons are usually present. The supernatural also reappears from about 1513 on, and celestial visitors or even a scene laid above the clouds or beyond the confines of earth, are characteristic of his later work.

"The Madonna of the Candelabre" is an early Roman work in which the Virgin, seen at half length and looking forward and downward, supports on her lap the Child in an attitude somewhat similar to that of the "Madonna della Sedia." The composition is by no means as well adapted to the circular panel and the two angel faces crowded in at the sides below the burning candles detract from the simplicity and nobility of the composition. The execution is perhaps due, in large measure, to Giulio Romano, but has been even further deteriorated by unskilful retouching.

Another round Madonna of almost the



DETAIL FROM MADONNA DELLA SEDIA (*about 1516*)
Pitti Palace, Florence

same dimensions as the last is the "Madonna della Sedia," one of the most famous ornaments of the Pitti Palace and one of the most popular conceptions of the Madonna ever painted. It seems hardly necessary to describe this picture, so universally is it known. Its reputation is justly deserved, for it would be hard to find a more perfect representation of mother love. The filling of the space is ideal, and the colours are almost Venetian in their fulness of tone and harmony. The modelling and execution show us Raphael at his best. The mutual devotion of the three actors is so intense that, whether it be accepted as a symbol of religion or a simple representation of homely affection, it touches every heart and has a universal appeal. It seems almost hypercritical to point out the single blemish, the impossible position of the left knee, so much higher and apparently farther from the body than the right that such a pose would be uncomfortable, if not impossible. The picture was perhaps painted for some member of the Medici family, about the time of the completion of the "Heliodorus," and was exhibited as early as 1589 in the Uffizi. The copies of it to be found in various galleries are innumerable.

There is a pretty and poetical legend told

of this Madonna, which relates that there once lived in the Italian hills a venerable hermit who was called Bernardo. Once during a terrible storm his life was saved by Mary, the beautiful daughter of the peasant owner of a vineyard, who helped him to climb into the branches of an old oak tree and thus saved him from being swept away by a raging torrent. In gratitude for this act, he prayed to God that the memory of these two should become immortal. It rarely seems to mortals that their prayers are answered, and so it happened that years passed away, Mary grew up amid the hard life of an Italian farm, and the venerable oak was cut down and sawed up into lumber, which the farmer used for his casks; and in the end the old hermit passed away, believing that his prayers were in vain. It happened one day, however, that Mary was sitting by these casks playing with her two children, one of whom she held in her arms and caressed with unbounded mother love, meanwhile watching the other who ran toward her bearing a little stick which he had made into the shape of a cross. Just then a passing stranger looked into the courtyard and was entranced by the happy domestic scene. He stopped to admire it and at that moment, Raphael, for it was he, received the inspiration sought for a lifetime.

Before him he beheld the incomparable composition which he had so long desired. Seizing a piece of charcoal from the wine-dresser's hearth, and taking for his panel the smooth head intended for a wine cask which the cooper was ready to use, he drew the group on this remnant of the hermit's oak. When the drawing was completed he carried it away with him to his studio and on this oaken cask-head he painted the "Madonna della Sedia." Thus was the prayer of the old hermit realized, and Mary and the oak received the crown of immortality.

In the gallery at Munich, beside a replica of the "Madonna della Sedia," is hung another version of the same subject known, from the curtain which forms the background, as the "Madonna della Tenda." Though the position of the figures is slightly different and the vision of Mother and Child is not directed toward the spectator, but rather toward some heavenly apparition at the right, the form and treatment are similar to those of the picture at Florence. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, on slight grounds, ascribe this picture to Domenico Alfani, but it is generally attributed to Raphael. Replicas of this picture exist at Turin and elsewhere.

It is said that the cartoon of the "Madonna

della Sedia " was in the hands of the Inghirami family at Volterra until 1818, and it is natural to suppose that it was presented by the painter to his friend Tommaso Inghirami, whose portrait he painted about this time. This prelate was nicknamed Phædra because of his cleverness in improvising Latin verses. On one occasion, when he was acting the part of Phædra in Seneca's tragedy, the play was interrupted by some accident to the machinery, and Inghirami amused the audience by improvising Latin poetry during the interruption. He received so much applause for this that he was given the name as a nickname and afterwards became generally known by it. His portrait in the Pitti Palace shows him in the dress of his sacred office as bishop of Ragusa and secretary of the conclave. The picture is characterized by intense realism, portraying with careful exactness his obese and bloated face and hands, the cast in his right eye, and the various details of costume and accessories. The picture is reminiscent of Holbein, and it is possible that Raphael may have studied some of this artist's portraits owned by Erasmus, who was then in Rome. One copy of this picture hangs in the Pitti Palace, a second, long in the possession of the Inghirami family at Volterra, is now owned by Mrs. John L. Gardner and



BALDASSARE CASTIGLIONE (1515-1516)
Louvre, Paris

hangs in her Museum, Fenway Court, in Boston.

Among the other portraits which Raphael painted was that of Giuliano de' Medici, which in the days of Vasari, hung in his palace of Florence. The original seems to be lost, for the rendition in the Uffizi is apparently a copy and other replicas in various collections seem to be no better.

Another of Raphael's friends whose features have been immortalized by him is Count Baldassare Castiglione, for many years ambassador from Urbino to the Vatican. He was very intimate with Raphael and it is not to be wondered at that his portrait in the Louvre should be a faithful and sympathetic rendition. It is entirely by Raphael's own hand and is in excellent preservation, a delightful piece of colouring in silvery greys and beautiful opalescent flesh tones.

Others of the circle of Raphael's Roman friends, whose features have been handed down in his paintings, were Cardinal Bibiena and the painters Navagero and Beazzano. The picture of the cardinal is preserved in the Pitti Palace, but is not a first-class picture, being poorly drawn and carelessly painted. It is undoubtedly taken from life, as it is, though reversed in position, identical in features with the

cardinal's portrait in the fresco of "The Battle of Ostia." The Museum at Madrid possesses another portrait of a cardinal, long supposed to be that of Bibiena. It is, however, that of a younger man, and as the style is considerably later than that of the Florentine portrait, and the features are quite different, it is probable that we have here the portrait of another man, perhaps one of the numerous cardinals created by Leo in 1517. Of the portraits of Navagero and Beazzano, painted facing one another on a single canvas in the Doria Palace at Rome, it is generally said that this is a copy of a lost original, though Morelli is emphatic in pronouncing it genuine. Why the picture should have been popular is not immediately apparent, but a copy now cut in two is in the Prado at Madrid, and this is not the only one.

Without doubt the most famous and most beautiful of all of Raphael's Madonnas is that known as the "Sistine Madonna." How it came to be painted is a question which has never been solved. It was executed for the monks of San Sisto of Piacenza, a small town far north of Rome. Raphael was so busy at the time this picture was painted that sovereign princes were not able to obtain his works, and why he was moved to paint, wholly with his own hands, this magnificent creation is

Sistine Madonna (about 1515-1516)
Dresden Gallery



likely always to remain a mystery. It is possible that there is some connection between the painting and the visit which Raphael made to Florence in 1515. Leo X had gone north to meet Francis I and sign a treaty of peace in October of that year, and Vasari tells us that Raphael was summoned to meet him. His absence from Rome in November is proved by the terms of a deed for a house in the Borgo which he bought at this time. Michelangelo and Leonardo were also in Florence at the same time and accompanied Leo on his journal to Bologna.

It is not necessary to speak of the quarrels between Leonardo and Michelangelo, as the result of which the former entered the service of the French king. What is more important for us to know is that Raphael accepted some commissions for pictures from the French monarch, and that he made sketches of Francis I which enabled him to paint the king in place of Charlemagne in one of the Vatican frescos. He also renewed his friendship with Francia, to whose care he later sent the famous "St. Cecilia," and according to some authors it was as a result of this meeting that Raphael wrote to Francia the letter quoted in a previous chapter.

It is thus easily possible that Raphael may

have made acquaintances on his trip to the north, which resulted in his painting the "Sistine Madonna," and Crowe and Cavalcaselle suggest that the intercessor may have been Antonio de' Monti, Cardinal of San Sisto, who must have been in Bologna, and whose portrait was painted by Raphael in the fresco of the "Decretal" in 1514, and possibly again on a panel in a private collection in Rome, which, however, is also attributed to Sebastian del Piombo. Whatever the cause, the Madonna was painted by Raphael himself, apparently without preliminary sketches, and on very fine canvas, contrary to his usual custom of painting on wooden panels.

It is both impossible and useless to attempt a description of this noble picture. It is universally familiar and every student of art has felt for himself the indescribable nobility and charm of this masterly creation. It can be compared only to a beautiful piece of music, which excites emotions impossible of description. We may study the details, but after looking at the picture all we carry away is the divine look on the face of Mary. "There is a shade in those eyes so solemn and so grand, something so penetrating and profound, that we ask ourselves where the magic of them lies, and we look into them, again and again, till a

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The Ecstasy of St. Cecilia (1514-1515)
Bologna Gallery



deep sense of mystery is left upon us, a mystery of which the source was known to Raphael, and Raphael alone."

Another picture executed for a church of the north was the "St. Cecilia" painted for Cardinal Pucci, who presented it to the chapel of St. Cecilia in the church of San Giovanni in Monte of Bologna. When this masterpiece was completed it was sent to Bologna in care of Francia, who had accepted the task of hanging it. According to Vasari, Francia was so affected by the sight of this beautiful work that he died in despair of ever accomplishing anything to equal it.

The choice of subject of this picture is variously explained. One version is that Cardinal Pucci was unfortunately afflicted with such a bad ear for music that he was unable to sing a mass without causing the whole college of cardinals to burst into laughter. More than once he refused to officiate in the Sistine Chapel for this reason, but the duties of his office required him to do this and so he prayed to St. Cecilia, who inspired a singing master of the Sistine Chapel to completely cure him in six months.

Undoubtedly the picture at its completion justified Vasari's praise and Francia's despair. In spite of its transfer to canvas, its repairs,

additions and abrasions, it is still glorious in colour and mellow in atmosphere. A burst of sunshine lights up the celestial choir singing above the clouds and brilliantly illuminates the faces of the five saints on earth who stand entranced by the heavenly notes. That earthly accompaniments could not help and that celestial inspiration was needed to accomplish the cardinal's cure is the theme of the picture. The discarded instruments in the foreground show this and St. Cecilia has forgotten in her ecstasy the organ which she still unconsciously holds and which is falling to pieces in her grasp. The surrounding saints, St. Paul, St. John the Evangelist, St. Augustine, and St. Mary Magdalen, are variously affected by the music. In spite of the beautiful harmony of the group of saints there is rather too much of a break between the two portions of the picture, a fault, however, which would not have appealed to Raphael's contemporaries, to whom it was but natural that there should be an actual and abrupt separation between the earthly and the celestial. As has been noted before, the face of the Magdalen in this picture is an idealized likeness of Raphael's model, the Fornarina, who also appears in the "Sistine Madonna."

Another picture painted for Bologna was a little panel entitled "The Vision of Ezekiel,"



THE VISION OF EZEKIEL (*about 1518?*)
Pitti Palace, Florence

which was painted for Count Ercolani. This is a grand and poetic vision, a creation of Raphael's own imagination, though the execution has been attributed to Giulio Romano. The picture is a union of classic and Christian themes. The Eternal, his arms upheld by cherubs, seems modelled after the Grecian idea of Zeus, and he is nobly supported by the beasts typical of the Evangelists, a winged lion, a winged bull, and a mighty eagle, all with open mouths as if voicing his greatness. The irresistible force of the celestial power is emphasized by the minute figure of Ezekiel at the right, looking up at the vision. In the centre of the foreground appears a great oak in a mysterious wilderness of sea and wave-lashed shore.

Further commissions resultant from the trip to Bologna were those for the painting of various pictures now in Paris. Lorenzo de' Medici desired to propitiate Francis I, and for this purpose Raphael executed the great "St. Michael" now in the Louvre. This is a masterpiece of violent motion. The archangel, clad in armour and wreathed by floating draperies, has rushed down on gorgeously tinted wings and overthrown Satan, who grovels upon the earth beneath the foot of his adversary. His bat-like wings, hoofs and horns, and

serpent's tail, contrast most effectively with the glorious form of the angel, who is about to transfix him with a spear grasped in both hands. The setting is a barren mountain top from which flames are bursting, while a noble landscape forms the background.

For the French queen Lorenzo bore a still nobler gift, the "Holy Family of Francis I," often known as the "Large Holy Family." This is a masterly composition in which the figures seem as if deliberately placed to increase the difficulties of arrangement, but notwithstanding this, every line is carefully calculated to add to the effect, and the whole impression of the crowded canvas is pleasing. Here again the Fornarina seems to have been the model for the Virgin, who, half kneeling, opens her arms to receive the infant Christ springing from his bed. St. Elizabeth holds the infant John and guides him while he joins his hands in prayer. In the background, St. Joseph, leaning on one hand, looks on with a grave expression, while one of the two angels in the background prepares to crown Mary with a wreath of flowers.

Charles Blanc, a famous French critic, has interestingly described Raphael's painstaking method of work, even at this late date in his career, in the following interesting



ST. MICHAEL OVERTHROWING SATAN (1518)
Louvre, Paris

passage: "We are in the master's studio. A daughter of the people, a girl from the Trastevere, has been brought in as a model for Raphael, who is at this moment musing over his celebrated 'Holy Family of Francis I.' Wearing a simple tunic, and with hair negligently dressed, the young woman, with bare legs and bent knees, leans forward as though to raise a child, who, so far, exists only in the painter's brain. In this attitude she is posed before Raphael, who, desiring truth before beauty, arrests the movement of the figure, assures himself of the proportions, seizes the play of the muscles, and adds truth to the grace of his idea. But he is yet only a third of his way. The same young woman will sit again, this time clothed and draped all but her left arm, which will remain bare, and will have to be drawn afterwards by itself, and covered by a sleeve. To what caution, to what scrupulousness, to what a religious love of art all this bears witness. Already thirty-five years old, and at the zenith of his fame, Raphael consents to study twice a figure of the Virgin, to draw first the nude, and then the covering drapery itself, and yet he knew them by heart, these Virgins with their infants, who almost drew themselves under his facile pen, gently smiling, and hinting, from the first outline, at all

their future grace. But the painter required to see them first on earth, when they were simple peasants, not yet visited by angels, or deified by art. So, when the model is transformed into a Virgin, when the infant is throwing himself into his mother's arms, with seraphim scattering flowers on his cradle, something natural and familiar remained in the picture, and renders it the more touching because it was the likeness of an earthly family before it became that of a divine one."

To about the same period probably belongs the "St. Margaret" of the Louvre, a beautiful Virgin with a palm branch, joyfully stepping forward over the coils of a horrid dragon lying dead upon the ground. This was probably painted for Marguerite of Valois, sister of Francis I, and Vasari attributes its execution mainly to Giulio Romano after Raphael's design.

Another painting in the Louvre is the "Small Holy Family." Here Mary sits beside a cradle in front of a forest-grown ruin, and beside her kneels St. Elizabeth holding the Baptist. Christ standing on his cradle reaches across his Mother's lap and caresses his playmate. The features of the two mothers in this are similar to those of the "Visitation" in Madrid, and in other details it resembles the



JOANNA OF ARAGON (1518)
Louvre, Paris

"Madonna of the Pearl" and the "Holy Family under the Oak."

At the time that Raphael was accomplishing these commissions, he was being pressed from all sides for pictures. Not only was he working for Leo in the Vatican and Chigi in the Farnesina, but he had innumerable easel pictures under way. Some interesting letters have been preserved, showing how the Duke of Ferrara, to whom a picture had been promised, repeatedly charged his envoy with securing the accomplishment of the pledge. He obtained in fact the cartoon of the "St. Michael" for twenty-five scudi, but outside of this very little.

Cardinal Bibiena was one of Raphael's insistent patrons, as he also desired to make a good impression on Francis I. For this purpose he had painted a portrait of "Joanna of Aragon," one of the most beautiful girls in Italy, and the picture when completed was duly sent to Paris. There the Duke of Ferrara saw it and sent to ask Raphael for the cartoon. This Raphael was willing to give, but he stated that the cartoon was not his, as it had been made by one of his pupils, who had gone to Naples for that purpose. He added that the Duke might have a copy in oil if he so desired. On these grounds it has been denied

that the portrait in the Louvre can be counted among Raphael's works, but though Giulio Romano, according to Vasari, did a part of the work, it is specifically stated that the head was painted by Raphael from life, and it certainly shows a beauty of feature and a fineness of handling characteristic of Raphael, and far finer than anything Giulio Romano ever did. A number of copies are known of this, of which one may have been that made for the Duke of Ferrara.

Also by Raphael, though often doubted, is the portrait of the "Violin Player," once in the Sciarra Palace in Rome, but later sold to Alphonse Rothschild of Paris. This, because of its brilliancy of colouring, has been attributed to Sebastian del Piombo, and it has even been suggested that Raphael painted this in his spiteful rival's manner to prove his ability to equal him if he so desired. The picture is dated 1518, and is perhaps the last portrait painted by Raphael.

In the same year, however, Raphael painted the celebrated portrait of Leo X with the Cardinals Giulio de' Medici and de' Rossi, which Vasari thus described: "Not painted but in relief; the velvets that show their cut, or damasks that display their lustre, fur of which we may count their hairs, and silk or gold so coun-



POPE LEO X AND TWO CARDINALS (1517-1519)
Pitti Palace, Florence

terfeited that they seem not coloured but real; — a breviary too with illuminations more lively than the life; a chased silver bell, none can say how beautiful, a chair with a ball of burnished gold, in which the lights of the windows, the shoulders of the Pope, and the archings of the room are reflected; — and all those things done with such skill that no other master could equal them." As one would naturally expect, considering the relations between Leo and Raphael, the execution of this picture is entirely by the master's own hand, and is accomplished with his utmost skill. In truthfulness, in nobility, in accurate rendition of character, it equals any portrait which Raphael painted.

In the Prado at Madrid hang a number of paintings of this period. One of the most interesting in its history, "Christ Bearing His Cross," was painted for the church of Santa Maria dello Spasimo at Palermo, and acquired the name of "Lo Spasimo di Sicilia" after its purchase by Philip IV of Spain. We do not know for whom it was painted. On its way to its destination by sea, the ship bearing it was wrecked and completely destroyed. Of crew and cargo the only thing that ever came to land was this picture, which floated ashore in the Gulf of Genoa without stain or blemish. The Genoese believed that a miracle had hap-

pened and refused to surrender the picture until forced to do so by the Pope. It finally reached its destination at Palermo, and remained there until 1662, when Philip IV acquired it by secretly securing the monks a revenue of a thousand scudi. The picture portrays Christ on the road to Calvary, falling under the burden of his cross. His face bears an expression of noble resignation mingled with suffering, and his agony is reflected in the grief of Mary and her attendant women kneeling beside him. The other male figures are nobly and beautifully drawn, especially that of Simon lifting the weight of the cross. The brutality and indifference of the Roman soldiers are strongly contrasted with the pathos of the foreground group. In the background we discern Calvary, to which the thieves are being driven by men on foot and horseback. The composition and handling are in Raphael's noblest vein, and the picture, though of a subject repugnant to Raphael, was one of his greatest achievements.

"The Madonna of the Pearl" was so named by Philip IV of Spain, who esteemed it the gem of his collection. In the time of Vasari it was owned by the Counts of Canossa, and later passed through the hands of Cardinal Luigi d'Este, Catharine Sforza, and Vincenzo,

Duke of Mantua, who, it is said, gave for it a marquisate worth fifty thousand scudi. By him it was sold in 1628 to Charles I of England, and when his effects were sold at auction, it was bought for the King of Spain. In arrangement it is not unlike the "Small Holy Family," though the positions are slightly changed. The infant Christ again stands on his cradle, throwing one leg over his Mother's knees. Mary supports him with one hand while the Baptist offers him fruit. She embraces Elizabeth with her left arm while the latter watches the action of the children. The background consists of ruins, in which Joseph may be seen walking, and a distant landscape with a river, a stone bridge and massive buildings. The lines are not quite as complicated as in several of the later "Holy Families."

Another of the Prado paintings is the "Madonna of the Rose," in which Mary is seen at half length, holding with both hands Christ, who is taking from John's outstretched hands an inscribed scroll. The latter stands beside Mary, looking up, and behind him stands St. Joseph absorbed in thought. The name is derived from a rose thrown on the parapet on which the Child stood. This was a modern addition, and is no improvement to the composi-

tion. Many copies exist, none of which contain the rose and parapet. The execution is probably by Giulio Romano.

Last of the Madrid pictures is the "Visitation." Here the young Mary, modestly and shamefacedly lowering her eyes, is being greeted by Elizabeth, an older and more matronly woman. In the background we discern the baptism of Christ on the banks of a river, and above in the clouds God with an escort of angels. The picture was painted for the high altar of the church of San Silvestro at Aquila and was in place on the second of April, 1520, when the town council passed a decree forbidding its being copied for any reason. In 1655, by an arrangement between the Pope and the Spanish government, it was sent to the Escorial.

Another picture, apparently painted by Giulio Romano with slight help from Raphael, is "St. John the Baptist," in which the forerunner is represented as a youth of fifteen, seated on a tree trunk in a wooded landscape and pointing upward. This was ordered by Cardinal Colonna, who afterwards gave it to his physician in payment for saving his life. Innumerable copies and variations exist.

There was, however, a cardinal for whom

Raphael, in spite of the enormous amount of work with which he was loaded, was willing to paint personally. This was Cardinal Giulio de' Medici, who in 1517 had set Raphael and Sebastian del Piombo to painting two altar-pieces in rivalry with each other. Sebastian's subject was "The Raising of Lazarus," and he obtained the design and studies for some of the figures from Michelangelo. By July of the next year Sebastian had his picture so far along that he refused to do any more work until Raphael had made a beginning, for fear that some of his ideas might be stolen by his rival. Raphael's picture was originally planned as "The Resurrection of Christ," but when he actually started on the work, he decided to paint "The Transfiguration." Realizing, perhaps, that he had been sending out too many pictures showing the inferior execution of his pupils, and desiring to silence once for all the boastful claims of Sebastian, as well as to inflict a blow upon his rival Michelangelo, he spent infinite care upon the design, for which numerous sketches exist.

The conception is fresh and original, being based literally upon the text in the Gospel of St. Matthew, instead of on the compositions of previous artists. Here again we have a sharp division between the celestial and the

earthly. The upper portion is a glorious vision of light worthy of Correggio, the lower portion is as brilliant in colour as the work of Sebastian himself. There is perhaps a little too much contrast between the ethereal brightness of the heavens and the violent light and shade of the lower portion, but some of this may be attributed to changes since Raphael's day, and there is no real separation between the two parts. The struggling boy in the foreground, seized with a fit at the moment when he is brought to the apostles, can be helped by no earthly means. The transfigured Christ, to whom one of the apostles points, is the only help, and the unlifted arms pointing to the vision form the connecting link between the two regions. There is perhaps an incongruity in the presence of the two saints at the left, St. Julian and St. Lawrence, introduced by order of the donor, but they are hardly noticed except on detailed study. According to Vasari, Raphael strove so earnestly to display in the face of Christ all the beauty that his greatest resources could effect, that when he had finished it he felt as if he had finished the work which he had been set to accomplish in this world, and thereafter he never lifted his pencil.

It was in March, 1520, that he placed the

The Transfiguration (1517-1519)
Vatican Gallery, Rome



last touch on this great picture; on the 24th of that month he was in full health and activity and signed a contract to purchase land on which to build himself a new palace. On the 28th he was taken sick with a fever and retired to the bed from which he never rose again. The enormous labours which had rested on his shoulders for the last eight years had been more than mortal frame could withstand, and from the beginning his friends had little hope of his recovery. The Pope himself realized the serious nature of his illness and sent six times to ask after his health.

He felt his approaching end and found strength to make a will which is as characteristic of his desire to do the right thing by everybody, as were all the acts of his life. His fortune amounted to sixteen thousand ducats, or about one hundred and sixty thousand dollars; thus the whole accumulations of his lifetime were less than the sum which the least of his pictures would bring to-day. To his two favourite pupils, Giulio Romano and Francesco Penni, he left his sketches and pictures with the requirement that they should complete what was left unfinished. To each of his servants he bequeathed three hundred ducats. The palace which he owned was, according to Michiel, left to Cardinal Bibiena, but there is

doubt as to this, for when Bibiena died, in November of the same year, he owned no house. Raphael's land, which he had purchased only a couple of weeks before, he divided between a cousin and one of his friends. He endowed a chapel in the Pantheon with a thousand crowns, provided for the future of his Margherita by a suitable gift, and left the residue of his fortune to his relatives at Urbino.

On the 6th of April, Good Friday, the anniversary of his birth, he died. For twenty-four hours his body lay in his palace and at his head was placed his marvellous "Transfiguration," still wet from the easel. During this short time all the artists and great men of Rome visited the body. The superstition of the day is shown by the numerous statements connecting his death with ominous cracks which appeared in the Vatican, and his death became almost a legendary event.

A contemporary account, written by the envoy of Mantua, will perhaps most satisfactorily portray the general state of feeling: "Although in these holy days, one thinks of nothing but confession and the other exercises of piety, I cannot refrain from presenting my respects to your Excellency. I have, however, no news to give you but that of the death of Raphael of Urbino, who ceased to live last

night, that is, the night of Good Friday, leaving behind him the immense and unanimous regret of the whole court, caused by the ruin of all the hopes founded upon him, judging both from the works which he had already finished, and from the still greater enterprises which he had commenced. The heavens themselves announced his death by one of the signs which attended the death of Christ, when the rocks opened, '*Lapides scissi sunt.*' The Pope's palace is so cracked that it threatens to fall. His Holiness, frightened at this, has deserted his own apartments and betaken himself to the palace constructed by Innocent VIII. Here they talk of nothing except the death of this good man, which has terminated, at the end of his thirty-third year, his first existence. His second life — his fame — will be subject neither to time nor death; it will endure for ever, thanks to his own works and to the pens of the learned men who will write his praises. There will be no lack of materials. . . . The said Raphael was honourably buried in the Rotonda, where a monument is to be raised to him, at the cost of a thousand ducats. He left a sum for the endowment of the chapel in which his tomb is placed; besides which, he has given 300 ducats to each of his servants. We heard

yesterday from Florence that Michelangelo is ill.

“Rome 7th April, 1520.

“From the ever faithful Servant of your most illustrious and most excellent Ladyship,

“PANDOLFO DE PICI DE LA MIRANDOLA.”

Another contemporary account which is worthy of our notice is extracted from the famous letter of a Venetian noble, Marcantonio Michiel di Ser Vettor, addressed shortly after Raphael's death to one of his friends at Venice:

“On the night between Good Friday and Saturday, at the third hour (that is between nine and ten P. M.), died the noble and excellent painter, Raphael of Urbino. His death caused a universal grief, especially among the learned, for whom more than for others, although also for painters and architects, he had set forth in a book — as Ptolemy set forth the configuration of the world — the ancient buildings of Rome, with their proportions, forms, and ornaments, so faithfully that he who has seen these drawings might fairly contend that he has seen ancient Rome. He had already finished the first region. He reproduced not only the plans and location of the

buildings, which he had sought out with great trouble and art among the ruins, but also the elevations with all their ornaments; and even when there were no remnants left to guide him he traced his designs according to the methods of Vitruvius, following the rules of architecture and the descriptions of the ancient writers.

“But death has interrupted this beautiful and glorious undertaking; it has carried away the young man of thirty-four years (properly thirty-seven) on the anniversary of his birth. The Pope himself had experienced a tremendous sorrow; he had sent at least six times during the fortnight of the sickness to ask for news. From this you can judge what others have done. And as on the very day of his death the Pope's palace threatened to collapse, so that His Holiness found himself forced to remove to the apartments of Mgr. Cibo, there are numerous people who say that it was not the weight of the added story which caused this accident, but that a miracle occurred to announce the death of him who had worked so long for the embellishment of this palace.

“In very truth an incomparable master is no more. The lamentations on his death could not be expressed by light and hasty words, but only by serious and immortal poems and if I

am not deceived, the poets are producing a great number.

“They say that he leaves a fortune of sixteen thousand ducats, including five thousand in ready money, which will be mostly distributed among his friends and domestics. He has left his house, which formerly belonged to Bramante and for which he had paid three thousand ducats, to the Cardinal of Santa Maria in Portico (Bibiena).

“He was buried in the Rotonda, where they bore him with great honours. Without doubt his soul has gone to contemplate the edifices of heaven, which are not subject to destruction. On earth his name and memory will live long in his works and in the remembrance of all good people.

“Much less important in my opinion, though it may appear otherwise to the common herd, is the loss which the world experiences from the death of Agostino Chigi, which occurred last night. I will say little of him, because we do not yet know to whom he had left his money. I learn only that his estate amounts to eight hundred thousand ducats in ready money, exchange, secured loans, lands, sums placed at interest in banks, livings, plate and jewels.

“They say that Michelangelo is ill in Flor-

ence. Therefore, tell our Catena to be on his guard, since great painters are threatened.

"May God be with you.

"At Rome, April 11th, 1520."

All Italy grieved at Raphael's death. The greatest poets of the day dedicated to his memory their sweetest strains. All the artists of Rome followed to the grave him whom none of them could equal. In that Pantheon which he had so greatly admired, that most perfect memorial of Roman architecture, he was buried, and above his grave a simple slab of marble bears the following epitaph written by his friend Bembo:

D. O. M.

RAPHAELI . SANCTIO . IOANN . F . VRBINATI
PICTORI . EMINENTISS . VETERVMQ . AEMVLO
CVIVS . SPIRANTES . PROPE . IMAGINES . SI
CONTEMPLERE . NATVRÆ . ATQVE . ARTIS . FÆDVS
FACILE . INSPEXERIS
IVLII II . ET LEONIS X. PONT . MAXX . PICTVRÆ
ET . ARCHITECT . OPERIBVS . GLORIAM . AVXIT
VIX . ANNOS . XXXVII . INTEGER . INTEGROS
QVO . DIE . NATVS . EST . EO . ESSE . DESIIT
VIII . ID . APRILIS . MDXX
ILLE HIC EST RAPHAEL TIMVIT QVO SOSPITE VINCI
RERV MAGNA PARENS ET MORIENTE MOR'

DEDICATED TO

RAPHAEL SANTI, THE SON OF JOHN, OF URBINO
THE GREAT PAINTER WHO EMULATED THE AN-
CIENTS,

IN WHOSE LIVING WORKS
THE LINK BETWEEN NATURE AND ART
IS EASILY PERCEIVED.
INTER AND ARCHITECT, HE INCREASED THE
FAME
OF POPE JULIUS THE SECOND AND LEO THE TENTH:
HE LIVED EXACTLY THIRTY-SEVEN YEARS
AND DIED ON THE ANNIVERSARY OF HIS BIRTH,
ON APRIL 7TH, 1520.
THIS IS THAT RAPHAEL, BY WHOM NATURE FEARED
TO BE CONQUERED
WHILE HE LIVED, AND TO DIE WHEN HE DIED.

As to his character, no better summing up has ever been made than that of his first biographer, Vasari, and as we began with a quotation from this writer, so let us end:

“And in addition to the benefits which this great master conferred on art, being as he was its best friend, we have the further obligation to him of having taught us by his life in what manner we should comport ourselves towards great men, as well as towards those of lower degree, and even towards the lowest; nay, there was among his many extraordinary gifts one of such value and importance, that I can never sufficiently admire it, and always think thereof with astonishment. This was the power accorded to him by Heaven, of bringing all who approached his presence into harmony; an effect inconceivably surprising in our calling, and contrary to the nature of our artists.

Yet all, I do not say of the inferior grades only, but even those who lay claim to be great personages (and of this humour our art produces immense numbers), became as of one mind, once they began to labour in the society of Raphael, continuing in such unity and concord that all harsh feelings and evil dispositions became subdued and disappeared at the sight of him; every vile and base thought departing from the mind before his influence. Such harmony prevailed at no other time than his own. And this happened because all were surpassed by him in friendly courtesy as well as in art; all confessed the influence of his sweet and gracious nature, which was so replete with excellence, and so perfect in all the charities, that not only was he honoured by men, but even by the very animals, who would constantly follow his steps and always loved him."

THE END.

LIST OF PICTURES PAINTED BY OR ATTRIBUTED TO RAPHAEL

THE most complete list of Raphael's works is to be found in the second volume of the French edition of Passavant. As this dates back to 1860, modern criticism has rendered it incorrect in many respects, but it still remains invaluable as a complete record of the facts known up to that time. The following list is intended to include all pictures whose attribution to Raphael seems to have even moderate justification. The first section includes all pictures generally accepted as painted by Raphael and some certainly done in his workshop but not entirely by his own hand. The second section includes many pictures about which critics are divided. Many pictures listed by Passavant are excluded because they are not accepted by modern critics, or because definite information as to their existence or authorship is lacking.

In each section the pictures are grouped as Madonnas, Portraits, Miscellaneous Paintings, Frescos, etc., as the simplest method

of quickly locating a given subject. A geographical arrangement is subject to the disadvantage that ownership is liable to change, and a chronological arrangement is impracticable because of the lack of exact dates. It has been found impossible to list all the titles generally used, but it is hoped that a characteristic and familiar name has been taken for each picture. No attempt is made to list the drawings of Raphael, which are very numerous and scattered through all the countries of Europe. Several hundred are listed by Passavant.

SECTION I

WORKS GENERALLY ATTRIBUTED TO RAPHAEL

MADONNAS AND HOLY FAMILIES

SOLLY MADONNA. About 1502

Berlin, Kaiser Friedrich Museum. 141. Wood, 1 ft. 8½ in. x 1 ft. 3 in.

Bought in 1821 with the Solly Collection, and said to have come from a palace in Modena.

MADONNA WITH ST. FRANCIS AND ST. JEROME

About 1502

Berlin, Kaiser Friedrich Museum. 145. Wood, 1 ft. 1½ in. x 11½ in.

From the Borghese collection and Aldobrandini gallery; bought in 1829 by the King of Prussia from Count von der Ropp. Painted from a drawing variously ascribed to Pinturicchio or Perugino in the Albertina at Vienna.

MADONNA DELLA CASA DIOTALEVI. About 1502

Berlin, Kaiser Friedrich Museum. 147. Wood, 2 ft. 3¼ in. x 1 ft. 7¾ in.

From the house of Marchese Diotalevi, at Rimini, where it was considered as by Perugino. Bought by Dr. Waagen in 1842 for the Berlin Museum for 980 thalers or about \$700.

MADONNA CONNESTABILE DELLA STAFFA. 1500-1502

St. Petersburg. Hermitage. Wood, transferred to canvas. Circular, 7 in. in diameter.

Originally in possession of Alfano di Diamante, uncle of Domenico di Paris Alfani, and an heirloom in his family, later known as that of the Conti della Staffa, until 1789, when it passed by marriage into the Connestabile family. Sold by Count Scipione Connestabile della Staffa of Perugia, April 21, 1871, to the Emperor Alexander II of Russia, for 330,000 francs (about \$66,000). He presented it to his wife, and it remained in the Winter Palace until her death in 1880, when it was bequeathed to the Hermitage. The date is much disputed, several critics placing it much later than the years given above. Numerous old copies exist, including three at Perugia, and others at Milan, Granada Cathedral, in the collection of Alexander von Humboldt, etc.

THE MADONNA OF ST. ANTHONY. 1503-1505

New York. Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan. Wood, 5 ft. 10 in. square, with an arched top separately painted.

Painted for the monastery of St. Anthony of Padua at Perugia. In May, 1677, the nuns requested permission to sell it "to pay their debts, and because the surface in some parts was flaking away." On the seventh of May of that year it was appraised at 1800 scudi (about \$1800). On Jan. 8, 1678, the panel and lunette were sold for 2000 scudi (about \$2000) and a copy to Count Giovanni Antonio Bigazzini, a nobleman of Perugia, who placed it in his palace in Rome. Later, the picture passed to the Colonna family of Rome, and in 1802 to Ferdinand I, King of the Two Sicilies. By succession it became the property of Ferdinand II, King of Naples, who had it hung in his bedroom in the royal palace. When the revolution of 1860 forced him to abandon his capital, his Raphael and other treasures went with him to the fortress of Gaëta. After a stalwart resistance the fortress fell, but the king took refuge on board a Spanish man-of-war and conveyed his picture to Spain. When the king abandoned all hope of recovering his throne, he requested his friend, Bermudez de Castro, Duke of Ripalda, for-

merly French minister to Spain, to sell the picture to the Louvre. The price asked was \$200,000, and undoubtedly the force of popular opinion would have resulted in a sale being effected had not the sudden outbreak of the Franco-Prussian war turned the thoughts of France in other directions. The king loaned his picture first to the National Gallery, and later to the South Kensington Museum, where it was exhibited until 1895. His heirs then sold it to Martin Colnaghi; it was later in the collection of Charles Sedelmeyer in Paris, from whom it was bought by Mr. Morgan in 1901 for \$500,000, a higher price than was ever previously paid for a painting, though it has since been equalled in more than one instance.

*PREDELLA OF THE MADONNA OF ST. ANTHONY;
CHRIST BEARING THE CROSS. 1505*

London. Earl of Plymouth. Wood, $9\frac{1}{2}$ in. x 2 ft. 9 in.

Early history like rest of predella. Sold from the Bryant collection in 1798 for £150 (\$750); sold by the purchaser, Mr. Herbert, to Mr. Miles of Leigh Court, near Bristol, England. Sold in 1884 to Lord Windsor.

*PREDELLA OF THE MADONNA OF ST. ANTHONY;
ST. FRANCIS OF ASSISI; ST. ANTHONY OF PADUA.
1505*

Dulwich Gallery. Wood. Each $9\frac{1}{2}$ in. x $6\frac{1}{4}$ in.

Sold by the nuns of the convent of St. Anthony of Padua at Perugia, on June 7, 1663, with the three other parts of the predella, to Queen Christina of Sweden, for 601 scudi (about \$600), from whose heirs they passed into the Orleans collection. When this was sold in London in 1798, the parts were scattered among English collectors. These two pictures were bequeathed by Sir Francis Bourgeois to Dulwich College. A copy by Gallo, made in 1663, remained at Perugia, and belonged subsequently to Cardinal Azzolini, then to Don Livio Odescalchi.

*PREDELLA OF THE MADONNA OF ST. ANTHONY;
PIETA. 1505*

Boston. Fenway Court. Wood, $9\frac{1}{2}$ in. x 11 in.

Early history like rest of predella. Sold from the Bryant collection in 1798 for £60 (\$300); passed through the collections of Bonnemaison, Karl von Rechberg of Munich, Sir Thomas Lawrence, M. A. Whyte and M. H. Dawson.

*PREDELLA OF THE MADONNA OF ST. ANTHONY;
THE AGONY IN THE GARDEN. 1505*

London. Baroness Burdett-Coutts. Wood, $9\frac{1}{2}$ in. x 11 in.

Early history same as other parts of predella. At the sale of

the Orleans collection, passed to the Bryant gallery; sold in 1800 for £42 (\$210) to Lord Eldon of Edinburgh; bought from his heirs by Samuel Rogers; at his sale passed to the present owner. Probably painted by Eusebio di San Giorgio from Raphael's design. Another example from the original cartoon was in the possession of Professor Aus'm Weerth of Bonn, who paid 400 thalers (\$280) for it.

MADONNA DELLA DUCA DI TERRANUOVA. About 1505

Berlin. Kaiser Friedrich Museum. 247a. Wood, circular, 2 ft. 10 in. in diameter.

This picture belonged to the Dukes of Terranuova of Genoa, who later removed it to Naples, where it was purchased in 1854 for the King of Prussia at a price of 30,000 scudi (about \$30,000). The model painted was the same as that for the "Madonna del Granduca."

MADONNA DEL GRANDUCA. About 1505

Florence. Pitti. 178. Wood, 2 ft. 9½ in. x 1 ft. 10½ in.

The history of this, one of the finest of Raphael's Madonnas, is obscure. According to Passavant, at the end of the eighteenth century it belonged to a poor widow, together with two paintings by Carlo Dolce. Unaware of the value of her treasures, she sold them for 12 scudi, or about \$12, to a bookseller, from whom the Madonna was purchased in 1799 by Puccini, librarian of the Grand Duke Ferdinand III of Tuscany, for his patron's collection. The price is variously stated as 300 sequins (about \$675), and 571 crowns 3 lire (about \$560). The Grand Duke became so attached to it that he never parted from it, whether at home or travelling, and even carried it with him into exile.

THE SMALL COWPER MADONNA. About 1505

Panshanger. Earl Cowper. Wood, 2 ft. x 1 ft. 5 in.

Probably originally at Urbino, where, in 1775, as we are informed by Michele Dolce, the Bonaventura and Palma families each owned a Madonna by Raphael, which have since disappeared. Bought by Lord Cowper in Florence, while English ambassador there. It bears traces of the hand of an assistant, perhaps Lo Spagna or Timoteo Viti. The cartoon is in the Florence Academy.

MADONNA DELLA CASA TEMPI. 1505

Munich. Old Pinakothek. 1050. Wood, 2 ft. 6 in. x 1 ft. 9 in.

In 1677 this picture was seen in the Casa Tempi in Florence by Cinelli, but was later placed in an unused room and lost sight of until 1828, when it was found, covered with dust, but in good preservation. The next year it was sold to King Ludwig of Bavaria for 16,000 scudi (about \$16,000). One or two ancient copies and the original cartoon are known.

MADONNA ANSIDEI. 1504-1506

London. National Gallery. 1171. Wood, 9 ft. x 5 ft.

Painted at the order of Bernardino Ansidei for the chapel of St. Nicholas of Bari in the church of San Fiorenzo in Perugia. Sold in 1764 to Gavin Hamilton for Sir Robert Spencer, who gave it to his brother, the Duke of Marlborough. Bought for the National Gallery in 1885 for £72,000 (about \$360,000).

*PREDELLA OF THE MADONNA ANSIDEI; THE
PREACHING OF ST. JOHN. About 1505*

Bowood. Marquis of Lansdowne. Wood, 1 ft. 8½ in. x 10½ in.

Once the property of Sir Robert Spencer. Reminiscent of Massaccio and Perugino. The predella once consisted of three scenes from the life of St. John, of which two, very badly damaged, remained in Italy, according to Passavant. This little-known picture is now generally assigned to Raphael. The lost panels represented the marriage of the Virgin, and a shipwreck, referring to a miracle ascribed to St. Nicholas of Bari.

MADONNA IN THE MEADOW. 1505-1506

Vienna Gallery. 29. Wood, 3 ft. 8½ x 2 ft. 10½ in.

This picture was painted for Taddeo Taddei and was seen in his house by Vasari, together with another Madonna. It is dated on the hem of the Virgin's dress MDV. It remained in the possession of the Taddei family until sold for 4,000 Roman crowns (equivalent to-day to about \$10,000) to the Archduke Ferdinand Karl of Tyrol, probably in 1661. It remained at Innsbruck until 1663, and was then removed to Schloss Ambras in Tyrol, which possessed a wonderful collection of arms and art objects. In 1773 it was transported to Vienna and added to the imperial collection. In excellent preservation. Ancient copies are rare, and the only one of note is in a church in Verona.

MADONNA DEL CARDELLINO. 1505-1506

Florence. Uffizi. 1129. Wood, 3 ft. 6 in. x 2 ft. 5 in.

This beautiful Madonna was painted by Raphael as a wedding present for his friend Lorenzo Nasi. When the Nasi house was destroyed by an earthquake in 1547, the picture was broken

into more than twenty fragments, which were collected and carefully joined. This and subsequent restoration have somewhat marred the pristine beauty of the panel. At least three ancient copies exist, stated to be in Geneva, London and Florence.

MADONNA WITH THE BEARDLESS JOSEPH. About 1506

St. Petersburg. Hermitage. 37. Wood, transferred to canvas, 2 ft. 5 in. x 1 ft. 10½ in.

This picture can be traced back only to the seventeenth century, when it belonged to the Duc d'Angoulême; having been badly injured by repainting, it was sold at a low price to M. Barroi or Barney, cleaned by the painter Vandine, and sold to Crozat, from whose collection it went to St. Petersburg in 1771.

LA BELLE JARDINIÈRE. About 1507

Paris. Louvre. 1496. Wood, arched at the top, 4 ft. x 2 ft. 7½ in.

Signed and dated 1507 or 1508. It is stated by Vasari that this picture was left unfinished when Raphael went to Rome, and that Ridolfo Ghirlandajo was deputed to finish the blue mantle of the Virgin, a statement which is substantiated by its raw tones and meaningless folds. It was painted for Filippo Sergardi of Siena, an official of the court of Leo X, and was purchased from him by Francis I, King of France. Ten or more copies are known.

ORLEANS MADONNA. About 1507

Chantilly, Musée Condé. 39. Wood, 1 ft. 1¾ in. x 11½ in.

This painting is perhaps one of the two Madonnas painted for Duke Guidobaldo of Urbino and answers the description in his inventory. Once in the possession of the Duke of Orleans, brother of Louis XIV of France, and then in the Regent's gallery. In 1798, at the sale of the Italian pictures of the Orleans collection, it was bought by Mr. Hibbert for £500 (\$2,500). In 1831 it was in the possession of a Belgian picture dealer named Nieuwenhuis, who held it at 50,000 francs, but had not sold it in 1835. It was later in the Aguado collection and was sold to Benjamin Delessert for 24,000 francs (\$4,800). At the dispersal of his collection in 1869, the Duc d'Aumale paid 150,000 francs (\$30,000) for this perfectly preserved little picture.

MADONNA OF THE PALM. About 1507

London. Bridgewater House. Wood, transferred to canvas, 3 ft. 4 in. in diameter, formerly 3 ft. 8 in.

This picture is perhaps the second Madonna of the Duke of Urbino, though Passavant believes it belonged to Taddeo Taddei. Engraved in France in 1656 by Egidius Rousselet. Before 1680 it had been in the possession of the Countess de Chiverni in Paris, the Marquise d'Aumont, and M. de la Nouë, who paid for it 5,000 livres (\$5,000). It was then in the collection of President Tambonneau, and later belonged to the Orleans collection. It was bought from this by the Earl of Bridgewater, in 1792, for £1,200 (\$6,000). Bequeathed by him to his nephew, Lord Francis Egerton, later Earl of Ellesmere. The picture is split in two or three places, causing retouching.

THE HOLY FAMILY WITH THE LAMB. 1507

Madrid. Prado. 364. Wood, 11½ in. x 8¼ in.

This painting, which bears in gold letters on the hem of the Virgin's gown Raphael's name, and the date 1507, was found in the Escorial, and nothing is known of its history. Nine or ten ancient copies are known.

ESTERHAZY MADONNA. About 1507

Budapest. Museum of Fine Arts. 53. Wood, 10 in. x 8 in.

This picture was left unfinished when Raphael left Florence for Rome. It belonged later to Pope Clement XI of the Albani family and bears on its back a paper on which is inscribed in German: "This painting of the Virgin, by Raphael of Urbino, together with its case set with precious stones, was given to me as a present by the Pope Albany. Elizabeth K." The Empress Elizabeth, by whom it was thus signed, gave it later to her Minister, Prince von Kaunitz, and toward the end of the 18th century it passed into the family of the Princes Esterhazy. A number of copies, all unfinished, are in existence.

CANIGIANI HOLY FAMILY. About 1507

Munich. Old Pinakothek. 1049. Wood, 4 ft. 4 in. x 3 ft. 2 in.

This picture was painted for Domenico Canigiani and bears Raphael's name on the hem of the Virgin's dress. We do not know how it came into the possession of the Medici family, but it was listed in the Uffizi inventories of 1589 and 1634. It was part of the dowry of Anna Maria, daughter of Cosimo III, at her marriage with the Palatine Elector, John William and was carried to Munich in 1806 at the transfer of the Düsseldorf gallery. It was very badly injured by cleaning undertaken by a French restorer named Colin, and the seven angels in the sky were later painted out by the gallery director Krahe. The origi-

nal arrangement is best shown in an ancient copy in the Corsini gallery at Florence. Other ancient copies exist.

BRIDGEWATER MADONNA. About 1510 (?)

London. Bridgewater House. Wood, transferred to canvas, 2 ft. 8 in. x 1 ft. 10 in.

This was originally in the Seignelay collection, then in the Orleans gallery, from which it was purchased in 1798 for £3,000 (\$15,000) by the Earl of Bridgewater. The date is in doubt, and it is often ascribed to the Florentine period. Seven or more ancient copies exist.

MADONNA DELLA CASA COLONNA. 1507-1508

Berlin. Kaiser Friedrich Museum. 248. Wood, 2 ft. 6½ in. x 1 ft. 10 in.

This picture belonged to the Salviati family of Florence and their heirs, the Colonnas of Rome; bought in 1827 from Maria Colonna, wife of Duke Giulio Lante della Rovere, by Dr. Bunsen, Prussian Minister at Rome, for his government. Not completely finished. A number of copies exist.

THE LARGE COWPER MADONNA. 1508

Panshanger. Earl Cowper. Wood, 2 ft. 2¼ in. x 1 ft. 6¼ in.

Signed and dated on the border of the Virgin's garment, 1508. The picture was described by Cinelli in 1677 as belonging to the Niccolini family at Florence and was bought by Earl Cowper from them when Ambassador to the Court of Tuscany. One or two copies exist.

MADONNA DEL BALDACCHINO. 1508

Florence. Pitti. 165. Wood, 9 ft. 1 in. x 7 ft. 2¼ in.

We are told by Vasari that this picture was painted as an altarpiece for the chapel of the Dei family in Santo Spirito at Florence, but was never finished because of Raphael's departure for Rome. It probably was never delivered and came into the hands of one of Raphael's executors, Baldassare Turini, who had it framed in stone by Baccio d'Agnolo and set it up in the cathedral of Pescia, his native town. In 1697 it was purchased by Ferdinand de' Medici, at a very high price, from the Bonvicini family of Pescia, patrons of the church. It was taken from the altar secretly at night and shipped to Florence, after its place had been filled by a copy by Dandini. The original painting was enlarged and retouched by Cassana and placed in the Pitti palace. During the time of Napoleon it was taken to Paris and then to Brussels, but was returned to Florence in 1815.¶

MADONNA DELLA CASA D'ALBA. 1508-1510

St. Petersburg. Hermitage. 38. Wood, transferred to canvas. Circular, 3 ft. 1½ in. in diameter.

This picture was on the high altar of the Olivetan church at Nocera dei Pagani until 1686, when it was purchased by the Marchese del Carpio, Viceroy of Naples, for 1000 scudi (\$1000). In 1793, it was in the possession of the Duke of Alba in Madrid. The Duchess of Alba, whose physician had cured her of a dangerous illness, gave the original and a copy to him, but when she died suddenly in 1801, he was accused of her murder and only escaped by the intercession of the Prince de la Paix. The doctor presented his saviour with the copy and sold the original to Count Edmund Burke, Danish Ambassador at Madrid, who carried it to London and sold it to W. G. Coesvelt for £4,000 (\$20,000). The latter sold it to the Hermitage Gallery in 1836 for £24,000 (\$120,000). Numerous copies exist.

MADONNA GARVAGH. About 1510

London. National Gallery. 744. Wood, 1 ft. 3 in. x 1 ft. 1 in.

Bought from the Aldobrandini gallery by Mr. Day, who sold it in London to Lord Garvagh for £1,500 (\$7,500). Bought from his collection in 1865 for the National Gallery at the price of £9,000 (\$45,000). Often called the "Aldobrandini Madonna." The execution is ascribed to Giulio Romano by Frizzone and Berenson. Numerous copies exist.

MADONNA OF THE DIADEM. About 1510

Paris. Louvre. 1497. Wood, 2 ft. 2¼ in. x 1 ft. 5½ in.

According to tradition, this beautiful painting was found in a cellar at Pescia, where it had been sawed into two pieces which were used as covers for barrels. It belonged later to M. de Chateauneuf of Paris and descended to his heir, the Marquis de la Vallière, secretary of state, who owned it in 1620. It was bought in 1713 by Prince Louis Alexander de Bourbon, Comte de Toulouse, and from him passed in 1728 into the collection of Prince de Carignan, after whose death in 1743 it was bought for Louis XV. Ascribed by various writers to Giulio Romano, from Raphael's design. Five or six ancient copies exist.

THE VIRGIN WITH THE SLEEPING CHRIST. About 1510

Milan. Signore Brocca. Wood, 4 ft. 6 in. square.

This is another picture of which no original, indisputably by Raphael, remains, although a large number of copies exist in various galleries; they are mostly round, for a frame of which

shape the present picture was intended. The cartoon is in the Academy at Florence. An excellent example belongs to the Duke of Westminster in London.

MADONNA DI FOLIGNO. 1511-1512

Rome. Vatican Museum. XVII. Wood, transferred to canvas, 10 ft. 6 in. x 6 ft. 4½ in.

This picture was painted about 1511 for the Pope's secretary, Sigismund de' Conti, and was originally placed over the high altar of the church of Santa Maria in Aracoeli in Rome. On May 29th, 1565, it was removed by the priest's niece, Anna Conti, to the altar of Sant' Anna in San Francesco at Foligno. In 1797 it was taken to Paris, where it was transferred to canvas. During this operation it was discovered that the head of St. Jerome was drawn, before painting, in two different positions, and that the head of St. Francis had also been redrawn over Raphael's original contour. The panel was in extremely bad condition from rot, cracks, worm-holes, and restorations. After the treaty of 1815 this picture was returned to Italy, and placed in the Vatican. It is remarkable that no sketches for this masterpiece exist.

ROGERS MADONNA. About 1513-1514

London. National Gallery. 2069. Wood, transferred to canvas, 2 ft. 6 in. x 1 ft. 4 in.

This picture has suffered very badly by loss of colour in its transfer. Bought from the Orleans collection by Mr. Willett in 1792 for £150 (\$750), and later owned by Mr. Henry Hope, and the poet Samuel Rogers. Bought at his sale in 1856 for 480 guineas (\$2,450) by Mr. R. J. McIntosh, who exhibited it at Manchester in 1857, after which it was withdrawn from public view until given by his daughter to the National Gallery in 1906. The original cartoon, which once belonged to Domenico Alfani, and from which the numerous ancient copies were probably painted, remained in Perugia until about 1843, when it was brought to London. In 1849 it was sold to Captain Sterling of Glen Tyan for £283 (\$1,400). Now in the British Museum.

MADONNA OF THE FISH. About 1513

Madrid. Prado. 365. Wood, transferred to canvas, 6 ft. 11½ in. x 5 ft. 2¼ in.

Taken from the chapel of Giovanni Battista del Duca in San Domenico at Naples in 1638 by the Spanish Viceroy, the Duke of Medina de las Torres, who carried it to Madrid in 1644. The next year it was sold to King Philip IV, and placed in the Escorial about 1564 by Velasquez. In 1813 it was taken to

Paris but returned in 1822. Frizzoni, and also Berenson, ascribe part of the execution to Giulio Romano. Various ancient copies exist.

MADONNA OF THE CANDELABRI. About 1514

Baltimore. Henry Walters. Wood, circular, 2 ft. 1½ in. in diameter.

Once in the Borghese gallery and afterwards in the possession of Lucien Bonaparte and the Duke of Lucca. Bought at auction by Mr. Munro of Novar in Scotland. Offered at auction in London in 1878, but bought in for £19,500 (\$97,500). In 1882 it was offered for sale in New York for \$200,000, but found no purchaser until 1901. A second example was found in Italy by Mr. Buchanan in the first half of the 19th century, and after belonging to the Rev. Mr. Turner, was bought by Sir J. C. Robinson, who loaned it to the National Gallery. Some authorities see Raphael's hand in both, others only the work of scholars.

MADONNA DELL' IMPANNATA. About 1514

Florence. Pitti. 94. Wood, 5 ft. 1 in. x 3 ft. ½ in.

Painted for Bindo Altoviti, and later in the possession of the Grand Duke Cosimo de' Medici, who placed it in a chapel in his palace. It was in the Uffizi in 1589. It was taken to Paris by Napoleon in 1799 and returned to Florence in 1815. Though partly by Raphael, it is in a large measure the work of Giulio Romano and Francesco Penni. One or two old copies are known.

MADONNA DELLA SEDIA. About 1516

Florence. Pitti. 151. Wood, circular, 2 ft. 4 in. in diameter.

Has been in Florence since 1589, first in the Uffizi, then in the Pitti. Taken to Paris by the French, but returned in 1815. An unfounded legend is to the effect that it represents the daughter of a vine-grower and was painted on the head of a cask. No ancient copies of value.

MADONNA DELLA TENDA. About 1516

Munich. Old Pinakothek. 105. Wood, 2 ft. 2¾ in. x 1 ft. 9¾ in.

This picture was probably formerly in the Escorial, but was stolen about 1813, taken to France, and thence to England, where it was purchased by Sir Thomas Baring for £4,000 (\$20,000), and sold the next year to Prince Ludwig of Bavaria for £5,000 (\$25,000). A replica is in the Turin Museum, and other old copies are known. The execution has been ascribed to various of Raphael's pupils.

SISTINE MADONNA. 1515-1516

Dresden. Museum. 93. Canvas, of very fine texture, 9 ft. 3 in. x 7 ft.

Bought by Augustus III, Elector of Saxony, in 1754, from the monks of San Sisto at Piacenza for 40,000 scudi (about \$40,000) and an ancient copy by Nogari. The picture was restored in 1827 by Palmaroli, but still remained harsh and dry, a defect which was removed by soaking with oil from the back. Copies exist at Rouen and Naples.

THE HOLY FAMILY OF FRANCIS I. 1518

Paris. Louvre. 1498. Wood, transferred to canvas, 6 ft. 9¾ in. x 4 ft. 6 in.

This is often called "The Large Holy Family." It is dated 1518, and was finished in May of that year for Lorenzo de' Medici, Duke of Urbino, who presented it to Francis I. Though signed by Raphael, the execution is by Giulio Romano. Various copies exist.

THE HOLY FAMILY, CALLED THE PEARL. About 1518

Madrid. Prado. 369. Wood, transferred to canvas, 4 ft. 8¾ in. x 3 ft. 9½ in.

Vasari places this in the hands of Count Lodovico Canossa, Bishop of Bayeux, at Verona. Though in his will he provided that it should not be alienated, it was sold in the 17th century to Cardinal Luigi d'Este, who gave it to Catherine Sforza, Countess of Santa Fiore. It then passed to Vincenzo I, Duke of Mantua, for a marquisate worth 50,000 scudi (\$50,000), and was later sold to Charles I of England. When his collection was sold, Alonzo de Cardenas, the Spanish Ambassador, bought it for £3,000 (\$15,000) for Philip IV, who exclaimed, when he first saw it, "It is my pearl!" It was removed to Paris by King Joseph in 1813, and returned to the Escorial in 1822. The design is by Raphael, the execution largely by Giulio Romano. The latter executed a celebrated imitation of it, the "Madonna della Gatta," of the Naples Museum. Various ancient copies exist.

THE HOLY FAMILY UNDER THE OAK. About 1518

Madrid. Prado. 371. Wood, 4 ft. 8¾ in. x 3 ft. 7½ in.

Also known as the "Holy Family with the Lizard." In Madrid in the time of Charles II. Removed to Paris in the Napoleonic wars and returned in 1822. Generally ascribed to Giulio Romano. Numerous ancient copies exist.

MADONNA DELLA ROSA. About 1518

Madrid. Prado. 370. Wood, transferred to canvas, 3 ft. 4¾ in. x 2 ft. 9 in.

Found in the Escorial. No previous history. Numerous copies, none with the rose.

THE SMALL HOLY FAMILY. 1518

Paris. Louvre. 1499. Wood, 1 ft. 3 in. x 1 ft. $\frac{1}{2}$ in.

According to a tradition recorded by Félibien in 1666, this picture was given by Raphael to Adrian Gouffier, Cardinal de Boissy. It passed from his family to the Duc de Rouanez, and later to the Abbé de Brienne (Louis Henry de Loménie), who sold it to Louis XIV. Another example was obtained in Rome by the Marquis de Fontenay-Mareuil, who gave it to Cardinal Mazarin. This copy is now in the Roussel collection at Nanterre. Both are, partly at least, the works of Raphael's scholars, and of about equal merit.

MADONNA OF DIVINE LOVE. About 1518 (?)

Naples. Museum, Salon of Raphael. 20. Wood, 4 ft. 7 in. x 3 ft. $7\frac{1}{4}$ in.

Painted for Leonello da Carpi, Lord of Meldola. Later it passed into the Farnese gallery at Parma and, by inheritance, to Ferdinand I, King of the Two Sicilies. In 1805, when Naples was invaded by the French, the Queen took this picture to Palermo, Constantinople and Vienna, but after her death it was returned to Naples. The work is coarse and dark, and, though from Raphael's drawings, it was undoubtedly painted by Giulio Romano. Some authorities date it as early as 1510, which seems impossible. The cartoon is also at Naples, and a large number of copies exist.

PORTRAITS

PORTRAIT OF PERUGINO. About 1502-1503

Rome. Borghese Gallery. 397. Wood, 1 ft. $5\frac{3}{4}$ in. x 1 ft.

Long ascribed to Holbein, but Morelli attributed it to Raphael, and this is generally accepted. There is some doubt as to its representing Perugino, though it greatly resembles other portraits of him. Strong ground for the attribution lies in the resemblance of the eyes to those in the "St. Sebastian," the "Saviour of the World," and St. Francis in the "Madonna with St. Francis and St. Jerome."

PORTRAIT OF FRANCESCO MARIA DELLA ROVERE (?)

About 1503-1504

Florence. Pitti. 44. Wood, 1 ft. 7 in. x 1 ft. 2 in.

This picture, as shown by unpublished inventories, came from Urbino in 1631. It is usually ascribed to Francia, but attributed

to Raphael by Gronau and Berenson. The landscape has the same character as that in "The Coronation of the Virgin," and the hands are identical with those of Christ in this picture and Mary in "The Marriage of the Virgin." The rich clothing and resemblance to this prince's portrait on coins suggest the name of the subject.

PORTRAIT OF A YOUNG MAN. About 1503-1504

Budapest. Museum of Fine Arts. 86. Wood, 1 ft. 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. x 1 ft. 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.

History unknown. From the Esterhazy collection. Its value was only recently appreciated, but it is generally accepted as by Raphael.

PORTRAITS OF MADDALENA DONI AND ANGELO DONI. About 1506

Florence. Pitti. 59, 61. Wood. Each 1 ft. 11 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. x 1 ft. 2 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.

According to Vasari, these portraits were painted for Doni, who was averse to spending money, yet documents have been published showing that Raphael received 700 scudi (\$700), an extremely high price for a young artist to receive or a commoner to pay. They remained in the possession of the family at Florence and Avignon until 1823, when they were brought back to Florence and offered for sale in vain for three years, as experts would not recognize their authenticity. Metzger, a picture restorer, prepared a document guaranteeing the authenticity and good preservation of the portraits and made ready to send it to foreign princes. The Grand Duke Leopold II, learning of this, had the pictures examined by the French painter Fabre, and on his advice bought them for 5,000 scudi (about \$5,000). As they were in bad condition, he entrusted them to the restorer Domenico del Potesta, who started to wash them with a cleaning fluid. Much to his dismay, this not only softened the varnish, but dissolved the paint. He rushed to Metzger for advice, who told him to lay them out in the fresh air to dry, and to start again more carefully. Fortunately no serious damage was done, though some retouching was necessary. Doubts have been cast on the identity of these pictures, but their record appears to be beyond question.

PORTRAIT OF RAPHAEL. About 1506

Florence. Uffizi. 288. Wood, 1 ft. 6 in. x 1 ft. 1 in.

It is believed that this picture was painted by Raphael in 1506 for his own family. It remained at Urbino until transferred, in the time of Sixtus V, to the Academy of St. Luke at Rome. The

Academy sold it with other pictures to Cardinal Leopold de' Medici, since which time it has remained in the famous gallery of self-portraits of painters in Florence. It is in very poor condition, having probably suffered more from cleaning and retouching than any other picture by Raphael. Ancient copies exist at Rome and Urbino.

LA DONNA GRAVIDA. About 1506

Florence. Pitti. 229. Wood, 2 ft. 2 in. x 1 ft. 11 in.

This picture cannot be traced back further than 1710, when it was in the Pitti. Accepted as Raphael's work by all critics except Crowe and Cavalcaselle.

PORTRAIT OF A CARDINAL. About 1510-1511 (?)

Madrid. Prado. 367. Wood, 2 ft. 7 in. x 2 ft.

History unknown. Probably not Cardinal Bibiena, as the portrait differs in important respects from that of the latter in the Pitti; yet Castiglione is known to have taken to Spain a picture by Raphael bequeathed him by Bibiena. Cardinal Cibo is suggested by Crowe and Cavalcaselle, Alidosi by Madrazo and Müntz. If the latter, it must have been painted before May 24, 1511, when he left Rome permanently for Ravenna, and this seems too early for the style of the picture.

PORTRAIT OF JULIUS II. 1511-1512

Florence. Pitti. Wood, 3 ft. 3 in. x 2 ft. 8¼ in.

Painted from a cartoon still in existence in the Corsini palace at Florence, which was in the possession of the Medici family as early as 1627. This portrait came from Urbino and was sent to Florence in 1631, when the Grand Duchess Vittoria, niece of the last duke, married Ferdinand II de' Medici. A replica exists in the Uffizi and considerable controversy exists as to which, if either, is the original, which was seen by Vasari in the church of Santa Maria del Popolo at Rome, was offered to the Kaiser Rudolph II toward the end of the 16th century, and has never been heard of since. There is doubt as to whether Raphael himself painted either of these pictures, or any of the many replicas which exist in various galleries, to the number of a dozen or more. Gronau, after carefully reviewing all the evidence, assigns the Uffizi picture to Raphael or his school, the Pitti picture to Titian, but equally good critics regard the latter as an original also.

PORTRAIT OF TOMMASO INGHIRAMI. About 1514

Boston. Fenway Court. Wood, 3 ft. 2¼ in. x 2 ft. ¾ in.

Purchased from the Inghirami palace at Volterra, where it

had been preserved as an heirloom. There is a replica of the portrait in the Pitti palace, and the general opinion is that this is a copy of the original now in Boston.

PORTRAIT OF BINDO ALTUVITI. About 1515

Munich. Old Pinakothek. 1052. Wood, 2 ft. x 1 ft. 5¼ in.

Until 1808, this picture remained in the Altoviti palace at Florence, and was then bought for Prince Ludwig of Bavaria at the price of 3,500 sequins (about \$10,000). The painting has been assumed by various writers to be that of Raphael himself, owing to a doubtful reading of Vasari, but as the picture could not have been painted, judging from its style, before 1512 at the earliest, it represents a man eight or ten years too young for Raphael. Of late years various German authorities have denied that the picture represents Altoviti and ascribed it to Giulio Romano, but its record is clear and the best authorities regard it as Raphael's own work.

PORTRAIT OF GIULIANO DE' MEDICI. About 1515

Berlin. Huldshinsky Collection. Canvas, stretched on wood, 2 ft. 10¼ in. x 2 ft. 2 in.

Purchased December 21st, 1866, by the Grand Duchess Marie of Russia, from Signor Brini of Florence, and said to have come from the Baldovinetti palace. Bought from the Leuchtenberg collection in 1907 by the present owner. Copies are in the Uffizi and the Turin Museum, and others of lesser value exist.

PORTRAIT OF BALDASSARE CASTIGLIONE. 1515-1516

Paris. Louvre. 1505. Wood, transferred to canvas, 2 ft. 8½ in. x 2 ft. 2½ in.

Mentioned in a letter by Bembo, dated April, 1516. This picture was probably carried by Castiglione to Spain, while he was ambassador there, and later made its way to Holland, where it was bought in 1639 by Alfonso de Lopez from the collection of Van Usselen for 3,500 florins (about \$1,400). Cardinal Mazzarin bought it after the confiscation of Lopez' property, and his heirs sold it to Louis XIV. The picture was copied by both Rubens and Rembrandt. Another portrait of Castiglione was painted by Raphael, but only poor copies of it exist.

LA DONNA VELATA. About 1516

Florence. Pitti. 245. Canvas, 2 ft. 8½ in. x 1 ft. 11½ in.

This is probably the picture of Raphael's mistress stated by Vasari and other contemporary authors to have been in the house of the Botti, merchants of Florence. It passed into the possession of the Medici in 1621 and was in a villa called Poggio Reale until 1824, when it was removed to the Pitti.

THE FORNARINA. About 1516

Rome. Barberini Palace, Room III. 82. Wood, 2 ft. 9½ in. x 2 ft.

Belonged in 1595 to the Countess of Santa Fiore in Rome. It was later in the possession of her son-in-law, Duke Buoncompagni, and in 1642 was in the Barberini collection. Critics are divided between Raphael and Giulio Romano as the painter. A number of copies exist in various Roman palaces, and another similar portrait by Giulio Romano, apparently painted from life at a later date, is in the Hermitage at St. Petersburg.

PORTRAIT OF AN UNKNOWN MAN. About 1516

Cracow. Czartoryski Museum. Wood, 2 ft. 5½ in. x 1 ft. 11½ in.

A good portrait of a young man in a black cap, long, light chestnut hair, a fur mantle and white sleeves, seated before a window through which a landscape is seen. This is conjectured by Passavant to be the self-portrait which Raphael promised to Francia. It is mentioned by Scanelli as having been in the gallery of Modena in 1657 and was still there in 1744. According to a tradition, the painter Van Dyck once possessed this or a similar portrait. It was later in the possession of Niccola Antonoli of Venice and was purchased there in 1807 by Prince Adam Czartoryski of Paris, in whose collection it was seen by Waagen, who pronounced it genuine. Later removed to Cracow. Berenson accepts it, and it is now generally believed to be by Raphael.

PORTRAITS OF NAVAGERO AND BEAZZANO. 1516

Rome. Doria Palace. 403. Canvas, 2 ft. 6 in. x 3 ft. 6¼ in.

Belonged originally to Bembo, who still owned it in 1538. Passavant first recognized the likenesses, but regarded it as a copy, as did all critics before Morelli, principally because it is not painted on wood. Modern writers incline to believe it the original. Copies in Madrid, Rome, and elsewhere.

POPE LEO X AND TWO CARDINALS. 1517-1519

Florence. Pitti. 40. Wood, 5 ft. 1¼ in. x 3 ft. 11 in.

The Cardinals are Lodovico de' Rossi and Giulio de' Medici. The picture has always been in Florence, except for a sojourn in Paris from 1797 to 1815. An excellent copy in Naples is probably by Andrea del Sarto. The original is partly by Giulio Romano.

PORTRAIT OF JOANNA OF ARAGON. 1518

Paris. Louvre. 1507. Wood, transferred to canvas, 3 ft. 11½ in. x 3 ft. 1½ in.

Ordered by Cardinal Bibiena as a present to Francis I. Vasari says that the head was painted by Raphael, and the rest by Giulio Romano, but Raphael told the secretary of the Duke of Ferrara that the cartoon, which was presented to this nobleman, was the work of an assistant. The statements are not inconsistent, and the face is too well done for Giulio. Four or five copies are known.

MISCELLANEOUS SUBJECTS

THE TRINITY — THE CREATION OF EVE. 1499-1500

Città di Castello. Municipal Gallery. 32, 16. Processional Banner, on canvas, now framed. Each 5 ft. 3 in. x 3 ft.

Badly injured by age and retouching. Painted for the Church of the Holy Trinity at Città di Castello; ornamental border added in 1589; framed in 1638; removed to the palace at the suppression of the convents in 1857-8. In the manner of Perugino.

THE VISION OF THE KNIGHT. About 1500

London. National Gallery. 213. Wood, 7 in. square.

As early as 1650 in the Borghese gallery at Rome; bought in 1801 by W. Young Ottley; sold by him for £470 (\$2,350); passed through the collections of Sir Thomas Lawrence, Sir M. Sykes, Lady Sykes, Rev. Thomas Egerton; bought by the National Gallery in 1847 for £1,050 (\$5,250). The original cartoon is exhibited with the picture. The date of execution is much disputed.

THE THREE GRACES. About 1500

Chantilly. Musée Condé. 38. Wood, 6¾ in. x 4¾ in.

From the Borghese gallery, where it was as early as 1650, through the hands of M. Henri Reboul, the art-dealer Woodburn, Sir Thomas Lawrence, the Earl of Dudley. Bought by the Duc d'Aumale in 1885 for £25,000 (\$125,000).

ST. GEORGE WITH THE SWORD. 1500-1502 (?)

Paris. Louvre. 1503. Wood, 12 in. x 11 in.

History obscure. Seems to have belonged to Francis I, though also stated to have been in possession of Mazarin, like the "St. Michael."

ST. MICHAEL. 1500-1502

Paris. Louvre. 1502. Wood, 12 in. x 11 in.

History obscure. Bought of the heirs of Mazarin for Louis XIV.

THE SAVIOUR OF THE WORLD. 1502-1503

Brescia. Tosi collection, Municipal Gallery. Sala XIII, 37. Wood, 11½ in. x 9¼ in.

This picture passed from the possession of the Mosca family at Pesaro, to Count Paolo Tosi of Brescia, who bequeathed it to the municipality, with his palace and collections.

ST. SEBASTIAN. 1502-1503

Bergamo. Academy. Wood, 1 ft. 5 in. x 1 ft. 1½ in.

Purchased from the Zurla palace at Crema by the engraver Giuseppe Longhi of Milan for 3,000 lire (\$600). Purchased from him by Count Guglielmo Lochis of Bergamo, whose collection now belongs to the Academy of that town. A characteristic picture of the Peruginesque period, accepted by nearly all the critics. A copy by Lo Spagna is in the Ross collection in New York.

THE CRUCIFIXION. 1502-1503

London. Mr. Ludwig Mond. Wood, 8 ft. 6 in. x 5 ft. 5 in., arched top.

Painted for the chapel of the Gavari family at San Domenico of Città di Castello, where it remained until after 1693; sold to a Frenchman for 4,000 scudi (\$4,000) and a bad copy; bought by Cardinal Fesch in 1818, and at his sale in 1845 by Prince de Canino for 10,000 scudi (\$10,000); sold in 1847 to Earl Dudley, then Lord Ward. Bought in 1892 by Mr. Mond for 10,600 guineas (\$54,000). In the manner of Perugino. The date of completion, 1503, has been recently discovered on the altar where the picture was originally placed.

*ST. JEROME PUNISHING THE HERETIC SABINI-
NUS.* 1502-1503

Richmond. Sir Frederick Cook. Octagon Room, 67. Wood, 9¼ in. x 1 ft. 4¼ in.

From the Palazzo Borghese at Rome; sold in 1801 to W. Young Ottley of London for £115 (\$575); W. Stuart sold it in 1875 for £186 (\$930) to a Mr. Waters. Probably part of the predella of the Mond "Crucifixion." Depicts a miracle of St. Jerome, who stayed the hand of the executioner about to decapitate the Bishop Sylvanus, who had staked his life on the falsity of a writing forged by Sabinianus and ascribed by him to St. Jerome, and at the same time miraculously caused the head of the forger to fall off as if he had been decapitated. Marked resemblance to the style of Viti.

CYRIL CALLING THE DEAD TO LIFE. 1502-1503

Lisbon. Gallery. Wood, 9¼ in. x 4¼ in.

Probably from the predella of the Mond "Crucifixion." Came from a small place near Montefeltre, was later in Trevi, and was bought about 1845 from a Roman dealer by the Portuguese minister to Florence, Husson da Camera, whose collection later fell to the Lisbon Academy. The legend is that St. Jerome sent Cyril to call to life three dead men belonging to a heretical sect who believed the soul remained in the body after death. By their testimony as to hell, purgatory and paradise, they confounded the sectarians.

THE CORONATION OF THE VIRGIN. 1503

Rome. Vatican Museum. XXVII. Wood, transferred to canvas, 8 ft. 9¼ in. x 5 ft. 4 in., arched at top.

Painted for Maddalena degli Oddi, for the church of San Francesco at Perugia, where it remained until April, 1797; removed to Paris and transferred to canvas; returned to the Vatican in 1815. Numerous studies exist, also a copy of 1518 at Civitella Bernazzone, near Perugia.

*PREDELLA OF THE CORONATION OF THE VIRGIN:
THE ANNUNCIATION; THE ADORATION OF THE
MAGI; THE PRESENTATION IN THE TEMPLE.
1503*

Rome. Vatican Museum. X. Wood, transferred to canvas, 1 ft. 2 in. x 6 ft. 3 in.

Same history. Cartoon of the Annunciation in the Louvre. Based on a predella by Perugino in Santa Maria Nuova at Fano. Various old copies exist.

THE MARRIAGE OF THE VIRGIN. 1504

Milan. Brera. 472. Wood, arched top, 5 ft. 7 in. x 3 ft. 9 in.

Painted for Filippo degli Albezzini, for San Francesco at Città di Castello; confiscated by the French General Count Guiseppe Lecchi, Jan. 29, 1798; sold Dec. 9, 1801, to Giacomo Sannazaro of Milan, who bequeathed it to the Hospital of Milan, June 8, 1804; purchased for the state for 53,000 francs (\$10,600), Apr. 5, 1806. Restored by Molteni. Copies at Urbino, Città di Castello, Berlin. Its affinity to Perugino's picture of the same subject at Caenys discussed in the text. Two or three ancient copies exist.

ST. GEORGE WITH THE LANCE. 1504-1505

St. Petersburg. Hermitage. 39. Wood, transferred to canvas, 10¼ in. x 8 3-8 in.

Painted for Guidobaldo, Duke of Urbino, on whom had been conferred, in 1504, the Order of the Garter by King Henry VII of England. It bears Raphael's name on the chest band of the horse and the word *Honi* on the saint's garter. It was carried to England by Count Castiglione, who intended to start in May, 1505, but was delayed by illness until July, 1506. Registered in the inventories of Henry VIII and Charles I, though in 1627 it was in the collection of the Earl of Pembroke, and was engraved by Vorsterman. Sold for £150 (\$750) at the dispersal of the effects of Charles I. Felibien (1619-1695) saw it in the gallery of the Marquis de Sourdis in Paris. Florent Le Comte saw it in 1702 in the collection of M. de la Nouë, who paid 500 pistoles (nearly \$2,000) for it. It was afterwards in the collection of Crozat, and was purchased with other paintings of this gallery by the Empress Catherine of Russia.

ST. CATHERINE. About 1505

London. National Gallery. 168. Wood, 2 ft. 4 in. x 1 ft. 9½ in.

This beautiful painting comes from the Borghese and Aldobrandini collections and was bought from the latter by Mr. Day, who sold it to Lord Northwick for £2,000 (\$10,000). It was bought by the National Gallery in 1839 from William Beckford of Bath.

THE ENTOMBMENT. 1507

Rome. Borghese. 369. Panel, 5 ft. 11 in. x 6 ft.

Painted at the order of Atalanta Baglioni for her chapel in San Francesco at Perugia, where it remained until 1608, when it was transferred by the monks to Pope Paul V, who placed it in the Borghese palace. An excellent copy by Arpino replaced it over the altar, but the inhabitants of Perugia were greatly distressed by its removal and protested in vain to the Pope. In Paris from 1797 to 1815. The panel is split in a number of places. A very large number of sketches and several ancient copies exist.

PREDELLA OF THE ENTOMBMENT; FAITH, HOPE, CHARITY. 1507

Rome. Vatican Museum. VII. Wood, each 7 in. x 1 ft. 4½ in.

This predella consists of three allegorical figures in monochrome, each in a framed circle on a green ground. At each side are winged children in rectangles on a brownish ground. These pictures were removed from Perugia by the French in 1798 and were returned to the Vatican in 1815. A copy occupies their

original place at Perugia. The pinnacle of the altarpiece, representing God surrounded by angels, is in the gallery at Perugia, but is a late Umbrian copy of Raphael's design.

THE ECSTASY OF ST. CECILIA. 1514-1515

Bologna. Gallery. 152. Wood, transferred to canvas, 7 ft. 3 in. x 4 ft. 6 in.

Painted for the chapel of St. Cecilia in San Giovanni in Monte at Bologna. Taken to Paris in 1798, transferred to canvas and restored by Hacquin in 1803. In 1815 it was returned to Bologna and the French repainting removed. The musical instruments were painted by Giovanni da Udine. A fine copy by Guido Reni is in the church of San Luigi de' Francesi at Rome. Other good Bolognese copies are in the museums at Dresden and Munich.

THE BEARING OF THE CROSS (LO SPASIMO DI SICILIA). 1517

Madrid. Prado. 366. Wood, transferred to canvas, 9 ft. 11 in. x 7 ft. 2 in.

Painted for the convent of Santa Maria dello Spasimo in Palermo, and shipwrecked on the way thither. It floated ashore in the Gulf of Genoa, and, by the intervention of Leo X, finally reached Sicily. It remained at Palermo until 1661, when Philip IV purchased it. It was taken to Paris by the French in 1813, and was offered for sale in London for £7,000 (\$35,000), but found no purchaser because it was attributed to Sebastian del Piombo. By treaty it should have been returned to Spain in 1815, but as it had suffered very severely by cracking while in Paris, it was transferred to canvas by the orders of the Duke of Wellington, an operation which proved so difficult that it was not returned to Madrid until 1822. Numerous copies exist.

THE VISION OF EZEKIEL. About 1518 (?)

Florence. Pitti. 174. Wood, 1 ft. 3¾ in. x 1 ft.

Painted for Count Vincenzo Ercolani of Bologna. As it is recorded that this nobleman paid Raphael 8 ducats (about \$18) by a bank draft in 1510, this date has been often set for the painting of the picture, which, however, both from its style and from Vasari's statement, is of much later date. In 1589 the picture was in the Uffizi; it was removed to Paris in 1798 and returned after Waterloo. Painted by Giulio Romano from Raphael's cartoon. A number of copies exist.

ST. MICHAEL OVERTHROWING SATAN. 1518

Paris. Louvre. 1504. Wood, transferred to canvas, 8 ft. 10 in. x 5 ft. 3 in.

Signed and dated. Finished in May, 1518, on order from Lorenzo de' Medici, and conveyed on muleback to France, where he personally presented it to Francis I. Louis XIV had it hung over his throne. Work in part at least by Giulio Romano. Five restorations are recorded. A number of very good copies or replicas exist.

ST. MARGARET. About 1518

Paris. Louvre. 1505. Wood, transferred to canvas, 4 ft. 6½ in. x 4 ft.

Mentioned by Vasari. A gift to Francis I from Lorenzo de' Medici, and probably intended for Marguerite of Valois, the king's sister. Probably painted by Giulio Romano, though some critics insist it is too beautiful for him and is by Raphael. A variation, from a sketch by Giulio Romano, is in Vienna, but is certainly a school piece.

THE VISITATION. About 1519

Madrid. Prado. 368. Wood, transferred to canvas, 6 ft. 7 in. x 4 ft. 9 in.

Painted for the papal chamberlain Giovanni Battista Brancino and originally placed in the church of San Silvestro at Aquila. Pope Alexander VII connived at its removal, in 1655, by Spanish officials acting for Philip IV. It remained in the Escurial until 1813, was removed to Paris, and returned in 1822. Execution probably in great part by Giulio Romano.

ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST. About 1518-1520

Florence. Uffizi. 1127. Canvas, 5 ft. 4 in. x 4 ft. 10 in.

Painted for Cardinal Pompeo Colonna, who gave it to his doctor, Jacopo da Carpi. Passed into the hands of Francesco Benintenti, and, before 1589, into the Medici collection. Probably by Giulio Romano from Raphael's sketches. Many copies exist, some with variations.

THE TRANSFIGURATION. 1517-1520

Rome. Vatican Museum. XVIII. Wood, 13 ft. 1 in. x 9 ft. 2 in.

The last picture worked on by Raphael. Painted for Cardinal Giulio de' Medici, with some collaboration, probably from Giulio Romano. As the picture was displayed at the head of Raphael's bier, it was probably completed, as Vasari states; Sebastian del Piombo also wrote Michelangelo on April 12, 1520, that it was completed; yet we know that Giulio received in 1522 the balance of 224 ducats (about \$500) due, making the total cost of the picture 879 ducats (about \$2,020). The picture remained on

the high altar of San Pietro in Montorio at Rome until 1757, when it was taken down to be copied in mosaic by Pozzi for St. Peter's. It remained over the altar until 1797, when it was removed to Paris. It was returned to the Vatican in 1815. A copy by Penni is in Madrid, and others exist.

FRESCOS, ETC.

STANZA DELLA SEGNATURA. 1509-1511

Rome. Vatican.

The four frescos of the side walls were painted by Raphael, as were the four round and four rectangular pictures of the ceiling. The ceiling decorations are otherwise by Sodoma. Work throughout by Raphael's own hand. Much injured by retouching and deterioration.

Walls: The Dispute of the Sacrament — The School of Athens — Parnassus; Alexander placing Homer's Poems in the Tomb of Achilles; Augustus forbidding the Destruction of the Poems of Virgil — Prudence, Force and Moderation; Justinian publishing the Pandects; Gregory IX issuing the Decretals.

Ceiling: Theology — Poetry — Justice — Philosophy — Astronomy — The Judgment of Solomon — The Fall of Man — Apollo and Marsyas.

STANZA D'ELIODORO. 1511-1514

Decorations of the ceiling by Peruzzi, the remainder by Raphael.

Walls: The Expulsion of Heliodorus — The Mass of Bolsena — The Deliverance of St. Peter — The Repulse of Attila.

Ceiling: God Appearing unto Noah — The Sacrifice of Abraham — Jacob's Dream — Moses and the Burning Bush.

STANZA DELL' INCENDIO. 1514-1517

Ceiling by Perugino. The wall frescos, while from Raphael's designs and partly executed by him, are mostly by the hands of Giulio Romano and G. F. Penni.

Walls: The Battle of Ostia — The Fire in the Borgo — The Coronation of Charlemagne — The Oath of Leo III.

SALA DI CONSTANTINO. 1520-1524

At Raphael's death this room was not even begun. It was painted by his scholars, but they possessed his sketch only for: The Battle of Constantine and Maxentius.

LOGGIE. 1517-1519

Painted by Raphael's scholars probably from his designs. Subjects as follows:

First Arcade; God dividing Light from Darkness — God dividing the Land from the Sea — The Creation of the Sun and the Moon — The Creation of the Animals.

Second Arcade; The Creation of Eve — The Fall — The Exile from Eden — The Labours of our First Parents.

Third Arcade; The Building of the Ark — The Deluge — The Coming forth from the Ark — Noah's Sacrifice.

Fourth Arcade; Abraham and Melchizedek — The Covenant of God with Abraham — The Three Angels' Visit to Abraham — The Flight of Lot.

Fifth Arcade; God appearing to Isaac — Isaac embracing Rebecca — Isaac blessing Jacob — Esau claiming the Blessing.

Sixth Arcade; Jacob's Ladder — Jacob and Rachel — Jacob asking for Rachel's Hand — Jacob's Flight from Laban.

Seventh Arcade; Joseph telling his Dream to his Brothers — Joseph sold by his Brethren — Joseph and Potiphar's Wife — Joseph before Pharaoh.

Eighth Arcade; The Finding of Moses — The Burning Bush — The Passage of the Red Sea — Moses striking the Rock.

Ninth Arcade; Moses receiving the Tables of the Law — The Golden Calf — The Pillar of Cloud — Moses showing the Tables of the Law to the People.

Tenth Arcade; The Passage of the Jordan — The Fall of Jericho — Joshua's Victory over the Amorites — The Division of the Promised Land.

Eleventh Arcade; David anointed King of Israel — David and Goliath — Triumph of David — David and Bathsheba.

Twelfth Arcade; The Consecration of Solomon — The Judgment of Solomon — The Queen of Sheba — The Building of the Temple.

Thirteenth Arcade; The Adoration of the Shepherds — The Adoration of the Magi — The Baptism of Christ — The Last Supper.

THE TRIUMPH OF GALATEA. 1514

Rome. Farnesina.

Painted for Agostino Chigi in 1514, as appears from a letter of Raphael to Castiglione. The work is almost entirely by Raphael's own hand. Now in bad condition from discoloration and retouching.

THE LOVES OF CUPID AND PSYCHE. Completed 1518

Rome. Farnesina.

Painted in ten triangular pendentives below the two rectangular panes of the ceiling. Between them are fourteen Cupids, with various attributes, in the lunettes. The painting is, some little by Raphael excepted, by Giulio Romano and G. F. Penni, with

decorative garlands by Giovanni da Udine. Restored by Maratta.

The pendentives represent: Venus pointing out Psyche to Cupid — Cupid showing Psyche to the Graces — Venus reproaching Juno and Ceres for protecting Psyche — Venus drawn by Doves — Venus a Suppliant to Jupiter — Mercury sent for Psyche — Psyche with the Water of the Styx — Psyche giving the Water of the Styx to Venus — Jupiter embracing Cupid — Mercury carrying Psyche to Olympus. The panels are: Psyche in Olympus — The Marriage of Psyche.

ISAIAH. About 1512

Rome. Sant' Agostino. 8 ft. x 5 ft.

This fresco was painted for John Goritz of Luxemburg and is on the third pillar of the nave. It undoubtedly is more or less inspired by Michelangelo's Sistine frescoes, but the anecdote that Bramante surreptitiously introduced Raphael to the Sistine chapel is probably without foundation, as part of Michelangelo's work was publicly exhibited in August, 1511. The fresco was irreparably injured by a sacristan who washed it with water, and under Paul IV, about 1555, it was repainted by Daniel da Volterra. Some copies exist and there is also in the Academy of St. Luke at Rome a fragment of a fresco showing the left-hand boy. This was formerly one of the supporters of an escutcheon of Julius II in the Vatican. During the extension of the Vatican gallery in the early part of the 19th century, this was sawed out and replaced by an engraving of Marcantonio. It fell into the possession of the painter Wicar, who presented it to the Academy of St. Luke.

THE SIBYLS. 1514

Rome. Santa Maria della Pace, Chigi Chapel.

This fresco is badly damaged by oil stains from tracing-paper and by repainting. Painted for Agostino Chigi. The model for the Phrygian Sibyl seems to have been Raphael's mistress. Raphael's part in "The Prophets" above this group is disputed. They were undoubtedly painted by Timoteo Viti, yet a red-chalk study for "Daniel" by Raphael exists in the Uffizi.

THE PLANETS. 1516

Rome. Santa Maria del Popolo, Chigi Chapel.

Mosaics representing "The Creator," and "The Seven Planets" in the guise of the antique gods, Jupiter, Mars, Venus, Mercury, Apollo, Diana and Saturn, each against a background representing signs of the zodiac, above which is the angel of the planet. The eighth field has the starry firmament and an angel.

Drawings made by Raphael for Chigi about 1516. The mosaics were executed by a Venetian workman, Luigi della Pace.

Raphael is said to have modelled the two statues of Jonah and Elijah in this chapel, executed by Lorenzo di Lodovico, called Lorenzetti. Some writers have ascribed the execution of the first to Raphael, but without sound reason.

THE TRINITY. 1505-1507

Perugia. San Severo.

This fresco is very severely injured, partly by the fall of the plaster, and partly by numerous injudicious retouchings and restorations. The upper part was painted by Raphael in 1505, while the six standing saints below were painted by Perugino in 1521.

TAPESTRIES AND CARTOONS

The ten tapestries for the Sistine Chapel were executed in Brussels between 1517 and 1519 from cartoons drawn by Raphael and his scholars in 1515 and 1516. Seven of the cartoons are in the South Kensington Museum, while the others are lost. The tapestries have suffered sadly from many vicissitudes, but are still whole except "The Blinding of Elymas," which is half destroyed. The subjects are: Christ's Charge to Peter — The Healing of the Cripple — The Death of Ananias — The Stoning of Stephen — The Miraculous Draught of Fishes — The Conversion of Paul — The Blinding of Elymas — The Sacrifice at Lystra — Paul's Deliverance from Prison — Paul's Preaching in Athens. The cartoons of Nos. 4, 6, and 9 are missing.

SECTION II

DOUBTFUL WORKS

MADONNAS AND HOLY FAMILIES

MADONNA DELLA MISERICORDIA. About 1502

Perugia. Gallery. Wood, 1 ft. 10¾ in. x 1 ft. 4¼ in.

Based on the "Madonna Connestabile della Staffa." Formerly in the sacristy of the hospital church of Santa Maria della Misericordia. Much doubt exists as to its attribution. Perhaps done by some friend of Raphael in Perugino's workshop.

THE MADONNA WITH THE PINK. About 1506

Lucca. Count Luigi Spada. Wood, 11¼ in. x 9 in.

This picture seems to have been one of the stock designs of Raphael's workshop, and while designed by him, he apparently never worked upon it, but left the task of making replicas entirely to his assistants. Fourteen or more copies exist, of which the best are this, that at Alnwick, and that belonging to Baron Speck von Sternburg.

MADONNA DEL PASSEGGIO. About 1516-1518

London. Bridgewater House. Wood, 2 ft. 9 in. x 2 ft.

One of numerous school copies of a composition of which no original is extant. Once in the collection of Queen Christina of Sweden. Passed to the Duke of Bracciano, and later to the Orleans collection. Bought from the latter in 1798 by the Duke of Bridgewater for £3,000 (\$15,000). Generally ascribed to G. F. Penni.

MADONNA DI LORETTO. About 1512

Paris. Louvre. 1513. Wood, 3 ft. 11¼ in. x 3 ft.

This is one of the best copies of a lost original, which was in the church of Santa Maria del Popolo at Rome as late as 1675, when it was seen by Sandrart. It is generally stated that Girolamo Lottorio of Rome gave it to the church of Loretto in 1717. What became of it after this is not known, but in 1759 it had disappeared and had been replaced by a poor copy. It was probably hidden in some safe place to prevent its theft by the French troops. A very large number of copies are known in various galleries.

MADONNA WITH THE STANDING CHRIST

London. Earl of Northbrook. Wood.

Ascribed by Crowe and Cavalcaselle to Lo Spagna, by Berenson to Eusebio di San Giorgio or Domenico Alfani from Raphael's design.

MADONNA ALFANI. About 1502

Terni. Countess Fabrizi. Wood, 1 ft. 6½ in. x 1 ft. ¼ in.

From the Alfani palace at Perugia. Perugino's name is on the back, yet the painting is generally ascribed to Raphael, from Perugino's design.

THE MADONNA IN THE RUINS. About 1518 (?)

Kingston Lacy, Devonshire. Banks Collection. Wood, 2 ft. 8 in. x 1 ft. 10 in.

A school piece, probably by Giulio Romano, of which several copies exist. Found in the sacristy of the Escorial. A crown and C. R. burnt on the back prove that it once belonged to Charles I of England. Is said to be now in St. Petersburg.

THE REPOSE IN EGYPT. After 1520 (?)

Vienna. Gallery. 30. Wood, 5 ft. 1 in. x 3 ft. 9 in.

This picture, though from a sketch by Raphael, as indicated by an old engraving of Bonasone, bears no trace of his hand in the execution. It was procured in Rome, perhaps from Duke Guidobaldo II of Urbino, by St. Charles Borromeo, who carried it to Milan in 1565, and bequeathed it to Lodovico Moneta, to be sold for the benefit of the Hospital of Milan. It was purchased for 300 scudi (\$300) by the church of Santa Maria presso San Celso and remained in the sacristy until 1779, when it was given to Emperor Joseph II of Austria, who had greatly admired it when there in 1769. In gratitude Maria Theresa established two annuities of 50 ducats (\$115) each, to be given by the church to poor maidens.

PORTRAITS

PORTRAIT OF CARDINAL ALEXANDER FARNESE
About 1512

Naples. Museum. 22. Wood, 4 ft. 7 in. x 3 ft.

Formerly called "Cardinal Passerini." Doubtless the portrait of Pope Paul III as a cardinal, in the possession of the Farnese family since 1587, and always inventoried as by Raphael. The striking resemblance to the portrait of the same cardinal in the "Decretals" fixes identity, date, and authorship. Accepted by Berenson.

PORTRAIT OF CARDINAL BIBIENA. About 1516

Florence. Pitti. 158. Canvas, 2 ft. 9 7-8 in. x 2 ft. 1 5-8 in.

This is supposed by Passavant to be a copy of the portrait at Madrid, but represents a different person. In the Pitti, bequeathed by the Grand Duchess Vittoria della Rovere, in 1698. Probably only the head is by Raphael, yet we know that he painted a portrait of Bibiena, as it is copied in the fresco of the "Battle of Ostia."

PORTRAIT OF DUKE GUIDOBALDO OF URBINO
About 1511 (?)

Vienna. Museum. Copper, 5 3/4 in. x 4 1/4 in.

This is at best only a copy of some work of a Roman painter, and there is no proof that Raphael painted the duke, though

Passavant states he did, from a mistaken reading of a letter by Bembo.

PORTRAIT OF LORENZO DE' MEDICI, DUKE OF URBINO. 1518

Florence. Pitti-Uffizi Corridor. Wood, 4 ft. 7¼ in. x 3 ft. 10 in.

We know from a letter of the duke himself to Turini, that Raphael finished a portrait of him in 1518. The original has disappeared, but this copy gives us a fair idea of it.

PORTRAIT OF AN UNKNOWN WOMAN

Florence. Uffizi. 1120. Wood, 2 ft. 1 in. x 1 ft. 7 in.

Cannot be traced back of 1710, at which time it hung in the Pitti. It was removed to Poggio a Caiano, and in 1773 brought back to Florence. Once called "Portrait of Maddalena Doni," and also without reason supposed to be the mother or sister of Raphael. Generally ascribed to a Florentine painter, whom no critic has ventured to name.

PORTRAIT OF A LADY

Hanover. Kestner Museum. Wood, 2 ft. 5½ in. x 1 ft. 8½ in.

Resembles somewhat "La Donna Velata." Originally from Bologna; bought by Dr. Kestner in Rome in 1844. School of Raphael.

PORTRAIT OF A YOUNG MAN. About 1515

Paris. Louvre. 1506. Wood, 1 ft. 11¼ in. x 1 ft. 5½ in.

Can be traced back no further than the collection of Louis XIV. Ascribed to Raphael by most critics.

PORTRAIT OF SANAZZARO. About 1505 (?)

St. Petersburg. Hermitage. 40. Wood, 2 ft. x 1 ft. 8 in.

This portrait was in the collection of Baron Hector de Garriod and was sold by him to King William II of Holland. It may be the portrait which belonged to Magnavacca of Bologna in 1707. It was sold in 1850 to the Emperor of Russia for 16,000 florins (\$8,400). The subject of the picture is not definitely known, but it resembles Sanazzaro's portrait in the fresco of "Parnassus."

PORTRAIT OF A VIOLINIST. About 1512

Paris. Baron Alphons von Rothschild. Wood.

Possibly the portrait of Andrea Marone of Brescia. The por-

trait was originally in the Sciarra-Colonna palace at Rome. Dated 1518, but this is a later addition. Now generally attributed to Sebastian del Piombo. An excellent copy is in the Corsini palace at Florence, and others exist.

PORTRAIT OF TWO MEN. About 1518-1519

Paris. Louvre. 1508. Canvas, 3 ft. 3 in. x 2 ft. 8¾ in.

Often called "Raphael and his Fencing Master." The figure in the background closely resembles the latest portraits of Raphael. From the collection of Francis I. Not now thought to be by Raphael, but critics differ widely in naming the artist.

PORTRAIT OF TWO MONKS, BLASIO AND BALTASAR

About 1500

Florence. Academy. 18. Wood, 11½ in. x 10¾ in.

The latter certainly by Perugino, the former possibly by Raphael. Originally in the convent of Vallombrosa.

PORTRAIT OF A YOUNG MAN OF THE RICCIO FAMILY

About 1507 (?)

Munich. Old Pinakothek. 1078. Wood, 1 ft. 8½ in. x 1 ft. 4¼ in.

Bought from Leonardo del Riccio of Florence by Ignatius Hugford. Certified by Mengs (1774) in a note on the back. Belonged to Count Firman of Schloss Leopoldskron near Salzburg, and then to the banker Trautmann, who sold it to King Ludwig I. Execution, according to Crowe and Cavalcaselle, similar to that of the "Madonna Canigiani." They ascribe the picture to Alfani.

PORTRAIT OF A DUKE OF URBINO

Vienna. Lichtenstein Gallery. 67. Wood, 1 ft. 9½ in. x 1 ft. 5¾ in.

This injured panel is said to have belonged to the Bovio family of Bologna. Passavant denies that it is the portrait of Guidobaldo, or by Raphael, and Crowe and Cavalcaselle, after once ascribing it to Francia, later decided that it is by Raphael in Francia's style.

PORTRAIT OF FREDERICK OF MANTUA

Charlote Park. Lucy Collection. Wood, 5½ in. x 8½ in.

Passed with the heirlooms of Mantua into the collection of Charles I of England. In 1831 in the possession of Edward Gray of London, and now supposed to be at Charlote near Warwick.

PORTRAIT OF A LADY

Florence. Uffizi. Wood, 2 ft. 2½ in. x 1 ft. 9¾ in.

Often called "La Fornarina." History unknown, as is the person represented. Passavant, on slender evidence, suggests Beatrice Pio of Ferrara. The picture has been attributed to Sebastian del Piombo.

PORTRAIT OF ANTONIO TEBALDEO

Motta di Livenza. Countess de Cheigné

This portrait belonged in 1835 to Michael Scarpa of Pavia and was bought at his brother's sale about 1895 for 135,000 francs (\$7,000) by Countess de Cheigné, who intends to present it to the Budapest gallery. According to Crowe and Cavalcaselle and also Morelli, the painting is by Sebastian del Piombo, and the latter believes it is a portrait of Raphael.

PORTRAIT OF CARDINAL DE' MONTI

Rome. Leopold Fabris. Wood, 2 ft. 8 in. x 2 ft. 2 in.

A copy, perhaps by Sebastian de Piombo. It was bought in 1845 from the gallery of Cardinal Fesch.

PORTRAIT OF A MAN.

Hanover. Herrenhausen Palace. 7. Wood, 1 ft. 9 in. x 1 ft. 4 in.

Formerly assigned to Giovanni Bellini, but now ascribed to Raphael. No history. The portrait of a middle-aged man, possibly Pinturicchio.

MISCELLANEOUS SUBJECTS

CORONATION OF ST. NICHOLAS OF TOLENTINO

Città di Castello. Municipal Gallery.

A free copy by Ermenegildo Costantini, 1791. The original was painted for the church of St. Augustine at Città di Castello; sold to Pope Pius VI in 1789, who had it cut into several fragments, which disappeared during the French occupation of Rome.

THE FIVE SAINTS

Parma. Gallery. Wood, 4 ft. 1 in. x 3 ft. 3 in.

In 1764 this was in the nunnery of San Paolo in Parma. In Paris from 1796 to 1815, then returned to Parma. Sketch probably by Raphael; execution by Penni and Giulio Romano.

ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST IN THE DESERT
1518-1520

Paris. Louvre. 1500. Canvas, 4 ft. 5¼ in. x 5 ft. 2 in.

This picture has usually been considered a variant of that in the Uffizi, but it has no resemblance in arrangement or background. It belonged in 1532 to Adrian Gouffier, Cardinal de Boissy, and bears his arms and those of Tremouille. It was later in the collection of Louis XIV, who obtained it from Marquis de la Feuillade. In 1820 it was given by Louis XVIII to the church of Longpont, and the Duc de Maille was charged with placing it there. He did so, but after a few years, as it had been injured by dampness and sunlight, it was sent back to him to be restored. It was placed in an attic, and, after his death, sold at auction to a picture dealer, M. Cousin, for 59 francs (about \$12). After restoring it, he offered it to the Louvre for 60,000 francs (\$12,000), but it was claimed as state property, and, after legal process, restored to the Louvre on repayment of the sale price and cost of restoration. Former opinion ascribed it to scholars or Sebastian del Piombo, but Frizzoni (1906) ascribes it to Raphael.

THE CRUCIFIXION. 1500-1502 (?)

St. Petersburg. Hermitage. Triptych on canvas. Wings, arched, 3 ft. 1 in. x 1 ft. Centre, 5 ft. 2 in. x 3 ft. 4 in.

Given in 1695, when it was already known as by Raphael, by Bartolommeo Bartoli, confessor of Pope Alexander VI, to the Dominican church at San Gimignano; removed at the French invasion; passed into hands of a surgeon named Buzzi; cleaned by Fèbre; about 1800 bought by Prince A. M. Galitzin in Rome; bought with the Galitzin collection in Moscow in 1886. Usually attributed to Perugino.

PREDELLA; THE SAVIOUR AND JOHN THE BAPTIST—THE RESURRECTION

Munich. Old Pinakothek. 1173, 1185.

By Perugino, with probable assistance of Raphael. From Inghirami Palace at Volterra, in 1818, to Munich.

APOLLO AND MARSYAS. About 1499 (?)

Paris. Louvre. 1509. Wood, 1 ft. 3½ in. x 11½ in.

From initials on the back this picture may have belonged to the English collector John Barnard, whose pictures were dispersed about 1770; in 1835 in possession of M. Delarivière, in London; bought in 1850, at a very low price, by Mr. Morris Moore, and at that time attributed to Mantegna; ascribed by him to Raphael, and sold to the Louvre in 1883 for 200,000 francs

(\$40,000), with the proviso that the attribution should never be changed. This picture has been the cause of much bitter discussion. Ascribed by Passavant to Timoteo Viti, by Morelli to Perugino, by Crowe and Cavalcaselle to Raphael. Generally attributed to Perugino.

THE RESURRECTION

Rome. Vatican Museum. XXIV. Wood, 7 ft. 6 in. x 5 ft. 2 in.

From S. Francesco of Perugia; taken to Paris in 1797; restored to the Vatican in 1815. Another version is in Rossie Priory. Probably painted by Raphael from sketch by Perugino. Generally attributed to the latter.

PREDELLA; THE EPIPHANY — THE SAVIOUR AND JOHN THE BAPTIST — THE RESURRECTION

Rouen. Museum. 269, 270, 271.

By Perugino, with probable assistance from Raphael. Predella of the altarpiece painted by Perugino in 1495 for San Pietro Maggiore of Perugia, now at Lyons.

PREDELLA; THE EPIPHANY — THE NATIVITY

Perugia. Palazzo Connestabile Staffa.

Small panels in distemper. Probably by Perugino.

ST. MARY MAGDALEN — ST. CATHERINE OF ALEXANDRIA

Alnwick. Duke of Northumberland.

Two wings of a triptych, the centre being the "Madonna Alfani." From Perugino's sketches. Painted for San Fortunato of Perugia. Later in Camuccini collection in Rome.

THE SACRIFICE OF CAIN AND ABEL

Rome. Signore Enrico Baseggio. Wood, 8½ in. x 1 ft. 1¼ in.

Once in the Aldobrandini collection in Rome; seen by Passavant in the shop of a London picture dealer named Emerson.

CHRIST ON THE MOUNT OF OLIVES

London. National Gallery. 1032. Wood, 2 ft. x 2 ft. 3½ in.

Raphael painted such a picture for Duke Guidobaldo of Urbino. Given by Duchess Leonora, wife of Duke Francesco Maria,

to the Camaldolese monks of Urbino. Later this picture was in the Gabrieli family of Gubbio, at Rome. In 1829 it was stolen, but recovered. Sold in 1844 for 4,000 scudi (\$4,000) to Mr. Woodburn of London. In 1845 bought by Wm. Coningham and in 1849 sold at auction for £787 10 sh. (\$3,900) to Mr. Fuller Maitland of Stanstead, Sussex. Bought by the National Gallery in 1878 for £2,000 (\$10,000). Now ascribed to Lo Spagna.

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